

3393-5

1225
Bibl. Mont

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κλῆμα ἐς αἰί. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. V.

BASIL:

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

M D C C X C V I I I.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K VI.

Isa. XVIII. 2.

Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered and peeled, to a People terrible from their beginning hitherto: a Nation meted out and trodden down, whose Land the Rivers have spoiled.

Isa. XIX. 13, 14.

The Princes of Zoan are become fools.

The Lord hath mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst thereof.

WHEN the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, which was on the 25th of August, as is before remembered, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his Standard would have suffered it to be; and received Intelligence the next day, that the Rebels Army, for such now he had declared them, was Horse, Foot, and Cannon, at Northampton; besides that Party which, in the end of the Fifth Book, we left at Coventry: whereas His few Cannon and Ammunition were still at York, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though Sir John Heydon, his Majesty's faith-

B O O K
VI.

The King's
condition at
Notting-
ham.

B O O K
VI,

ful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it; neither were there Foot enough levied to guard it: and at *Nottingham*, besides some few of the Trained-bands, which Sir *John Digby*, the active Sheriff of that County, drew into the old ruinous Castle there, there were not of Foot levied for the Service Yet three hundred Men. So that they who were not over much given to fear, finding very many places in that great River, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the Town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an Army for defence but the Standard set up, begun sadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own Person. Insomuch that Sir *Jacob Aspley*, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended Army, told him, "that he could not give any assurance
" against his Majesty's being taken out of his bed,
" if the Rebels should make a brisk attempt to that
" purpose." And it was evident, all the Strength he had to depend upon was his Horse; which were under the Command of Prince *Rupert* at *Leicester*; and were not at that time in Number above eight hundred, few better armed than with Swords, whilst the Enemy had, within less than twenty Miles of that place, double the Number of Horse excellently armed and appointed, and a Body of five thousand Foot well trained, and disciplined; so that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at least have dispersed those few Troops of the King's, and driven his Majesty to a greater distance, and exposed him to notable hazards and inconveniences.

Portsmouth
besieged by the

When Men were almost confounded with this

prospect, his Majesty received Intelligence, that *Portsmouth* was so straitly besieged by Sea and Land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were relieved. For the truth is, Colonel *Goring*, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of Money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that Himself which a vigilant Officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependance was both for Money and Provisions from the Isle of *Wight*, yet he was careless to secure those small Castles and Block-houses, that guarded the passage; which revolting to the Parliament as soon as he declared for the King, cut off all those dependances; so that he had neither Men enough to do ordinary duty, nor Provisions enough for those few, for any considerable time. And at the same time with this news of *Portsmouth*, arrived certain Advertisements, that the Marquis of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the West, from whom only the King hoped that *Portsmouth* should be relieved, was driven out of *Somersetshire*, where his power and interest was believed unquestionable, into *Dorsetshire*; and there besieged in *Sherborne-Castle*.

The Marquis, after he left the King at *Beverly*, by ordinary Journeys, and without making any long stay by the way, came to *Bath*, upon the very edge of *Somersetshire*, at the time when the General Assizes were there held; where, meeting all the considerable Gentlemen of that great County, and finding them well affected to the King's Service, except very few who were sufficiently known, he

B O O K
VI.

Parliament's
Forces.

The Marquis
of Hertford's
Actions in So-
merfetshire,
&c.

B O O K entered into consultation with them, from whom he
VI. was to expect assistance, in what place he should
most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing
the Affections of the People, and to raise a strength
for the resistance of any attempt which the Parlia-
ment might make, either against them, or to disturb
the Peace of the Country by their Ordinance of the
Militia, which was the first power they were like to
hear of. Some were of opinion, “ that *Bristol* would
“ be the fittest place, being a great, rich, and po-
“ pulous City; of which being once possessed, they
“ should be easily able to give the Law to *Somerset*
“ and *Glocestershire*; and could not receive any Af-
“ front by a sudden or tumultuary Insurrection of the
“ People.” And if this advice had been followed,
it would, probably, have proved very prosperous.
But, on the contrary, it was objected, that it “ was
“ not evident, that his Lordship’s reception into
“ the City would be such as was expected; Mr. *Hollis*
“ being Lieutenant thereof, and having exercised
“ the Militia there; and there being visibly many
“ disaffected people in it, and some of Eminent
“ Quality; and if he should attempt to go thither
“ and be disappointed, it would break the whole
“ Design: Then that it was out of the County of
“ *Somerset*, and therefore that they could not Le-
“ gally draw that people thither; besides, that it
“ would look like fear and suspicion of their own
“ power, to put themselves into a walled Town,
“ as if they feared the power of the other Party
“ would be able to oppress them. Whereas, except
“ *Popham* and *Horner*, all the Gentlemen of Eminent

“ Quality and Fortune of *Somersetshire*, were either
“ present with the Marquis, or presumed not to be
“ inclined to the Parliament.” And therefore they
proposed, “ that *Wells*, being a pleasant City, in the
“ heart and near the centre of that County, might be
“ chosen for his Lordship’s residence.” Which was
accordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis
and his Train went, sending for the nearest Trained-
bands to appear before him; and presuming that in
little time, by the industry of the Gentlemen present,
and his Lordship’s reputation, which was very great,
the affections of the people would be so much
wrought upon, and their understandings so well in-
formed, that it would not be in the power of the Par-
liament to pervert them, or to make ill impressions
on them towards his Majesty’s Service.

Whilst his Lordship in this gentle way endeavour-
ed to compose the fears and apprehensions of the
people, and by doing all things in a peaceable way,
and according to the Rules of the known Laws, to
convince all Men of the Justice and Integrity of his
Majesty’s proceedings and Royal intentions; the
other Party, according to their usual confidence and
activity, wrought under-hand to persuade the peo-
ple that the Marquis was come down to put the
Commission of Array in execution, by which Com-
mission a great part of the Estate of every Farmer or
substantial Yeoman should be taken from them;
alleging, that some Lords had said, “ that Twenty
“ pounds by the year was enough for every Peasant
“ to live on;” and so, taking advantage of the Com-
mission’s being in Latin, translated in into what

B O O K
VI.

English they pleased; persuading the substantial Yeomen and Freeholders, that, at least, two parts of their Estates would, by that Commission, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer sort of People, that they were to pay a Tax for one day's labor in the week to the King; and that All should be, upon the matter, no better than Slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preserve themselves from this insupportable Tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and submitting to the Ordinance for the Militia; which was purposely prepared to enable them to resist these horrid Invasions of their Liberties.

It cannot easily be believed, how these gross Insults generally prevailed. For though the Gentlemen of Ancient Families and Estates in that County were, for the most part, well affected to the King, and easily discerned by what Faction the Parliament was governed; yet there were a People of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, had gotten very great Fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into the Gentlemen's Estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose Estates they had; and therefore, with more industry than the other, studied all ways to make themselves considerable. These, from the beginning, were fast friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now intrusted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new Ordinance of the Militia, and having found when the People were ripe, gathered them together, with a purpose on a sudden,

before there should be any suspicion, to surround and surprise the Marquis at *Wells*. For they had always this advantage of the King's Party and his Counsels, that their Resolutions were no sooner published, than they were ready to be executed, there being an absolute implicit obedience in the inferior sort to those who were to Command them; and their private Agents, with admirable industry and secrecy, preparing all persons and things ready against a call: Whereas all the King's Counsels were, with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the Law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice, that was contracted against the Court, but by the most barefaced publishing all conclusions, and fitting them to that apparent justice and reason, that might prevail over the most ordinary understandings.

When the Marquis was thus in the midst of an Enemy that almost covered the whole Kingdom, his whole strength was a Troop of Horse, raised by Mr. *John Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, and another by Sir *Francis Hawley* (both which were levied in those parts to attend the King in the North) and a Troop of Horse and a small Troop of Dragoons, raised and armed by Sir *Ralph Hopton* at his own charge; and about one hundred Foot gathered up by Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lunsford* towards a Regiment, which were likewise to have marched to the King. These, with the Lord *Pawlet*, and the Gentlemen of the Country, which were about eight-and-twenty of the prime Quality there, with their Servants

B O O K
VI.

and Retinue, made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertisement that the active Ministers of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a Town within few Miles of *Wells*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* being advised with his small Troop and some Volunteer-Gentlemen to repair thither, and to disappoint that Convention, and to take care that it might produce the least prejudice to the King's Service; before he reached the place, those Gentlemen who stayed behind (and by whose advice the Marquis thought it necessary absolutely to govern himself, that they might see all possible wariness was used in the entrance into a War, which being once entered into, he well knew must be carried on another way) sent him word, "that he should forbear any hostile Act, otherwise they would disclaim whatsoever he should do." Whereas the Courage and Resolution of those few were such, and the Cowardice of the undisciplined seditious Rabble and their Leaders was so eminent, that it was very probable, if those few Troops had been as actively employed as their Commanders desired, they might have been able to have driven the Bigots out of the Country, before they had fully possessed the rest with their own rancor: which may be reasonably presumed by what followed shortly after, when Mr. *Digby*, Sir *John Stawell* and his Sons, with some Volunteer-Gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourscore Horse, and fourteen Dragoons, charged a greater Body of Horse, and above six hundred Foot of the Rebels, led by a Member of the House of Commons; and without

the loss of one Man, killed seven in the place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Prisoners as they would; and so routed the whole Body, that six Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Arms.

But this good fortune abated only the Courage of those who had run away, the others making use of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody purposes; and therefore, in few days, Sir *John Horner* and *Alexander Popham*, being the principal Men of Quality of that Party in that County, with the assistance of their friends of *Dorset*, and *Devon*, and the City of *Bristol*, drew together a body of above twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, with some pieces of Cannon, with which they appeared on the top of the Hill over *Wells*; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, stayed two days, having only Barricadoed the Town; but then, finding that the few Trained-bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own Houses, or to their fellows, on the top of the Hill; and hearing that more Forces, or, at least, better Officers were coming from the Parliament against him, he retired in the noon day, and in the face of that rebellious Herd from *Wells* to *Somerton*, and so to *Sherborne*, without any loss or trouble. Thither, within

He retires to
Sherborne.

two days, came to his Lordship Sir *John Berkely*, Colonel *Ashburnham*, and some other good Officers, enough to have formed a considerable Army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there (and it was not easy to resolve whither else to go, they having no reason to believe they should be any

B O O K

VI.

The Earl of
Bedford comes
against him.

where more welcome than in *Somersetshire*, from whence they had been now driven) when the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horse to the Parliament, with Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Walter Earl*, and other *Ephori*, and a complete Body of seven thousand Foot at least, ordered by *Charles Essex*, their Serjeant-Major-General, a Soldier of good experience and reputation in the low Countries, and eight full Troops of Horse, under the Command of Captain *Pretty*, with four pieces of Cannon, in a very splendid equipage came to *Wells*, and from thence to *Sherborne*. The Marquis, by this time having increased his Foot to four hundred, with which that great Army was kept from entering that Town, and persuaded to encamp in the Field about three quarters of a Mile North from the Castle; where, for the present, we must leave the Marquis and his great-spirited little Army.

It could never be understood, why that Army did not then march directly to *Nottingham*; which if it had done, his Majesty's few Forces must immediately have been scattered, and himself fled, or put himself into their hands, which there were enough ready to have advised him to do; and if he had escaped, he might have been pursued by one Regiment of Horse till he had quitted the Kingdom. But it pleased God, that they made not the least advance toward *Nottingham*. They about the King began now to wish that he had staid at *York*, and proposed his return thither; but that was not hearkened to; and they who advised his stay there, and against the advance to *Nottingham*, were more against his return thither, as an absolute flight; but urged the ad-

vance of the Levies, and a little patience, till it might be discerned what the Enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, some of the Lords desired, “that his Majesty would send a Message to the Parliament, with some overture to incline them to a Treaty;” which proposition was no sooner made, but most concurred in it, and no one had the confidence to oppose it. The King himself was so offended at it, that he declared, “he would never yield to it,” and broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renewed the same advice with more earnestness. The Earl of *Southampton*, a Person of great prudence, and of a reputation at least equal to any Man’s, pressed it, “as a thing that might do good, and could do no harm:” and the King’s reasons, with reference to the insolence it would raise in the Rebels, and the dishonor that would thereby reflect upon Himself, were answered, by saying “their insolence would be for the King’s advantage;” “and when they should reject the offer of Peace, which they believed they would do, they would make themselves the more odious to the People, who would be thereby the more inclined to serve the King.” So that they took it as granted, that the proposition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther said, “that his Majesty was not able to make resistance; that the Forces before *Sherborne*, *Portsmouth*, and at *Northampton*, were three several Armies, the least of which would drive his Majesty out of his Dominions; that it was only in his power to chuse,

B O O K
VI.

The King
consults at
Nottingham
of sending a
Message for
Peace.

B O O K
VI.

“ whether, by making a fair offer himself, he would
“ seem to make Peace, which could not but render
“ him very gracious to the People, or suffer himself
“ to be taken Prisoner (which he would not long be
“ able to avoid) which would give his Enemies
“ Power, Reputation, and Authority to proceed
“ against his Majesty, and, it might be, his Poste-
“ rity, according to their own engaged Malice.

Yet this motive made no impresson in him. “ For,
“ he said, no misfortune, or ill success that might
“ attend his endeavour of defending himself, could
“ expose him to more inconveniences than a Treaty
“ at this time desired by him, where he must be
“ understood to be willing to yield to whatsoever
“ they would require of him; and how modest they
“ were like to be, might be judged by their nineteen
“ Propositions, which were tendered, when their
“ power could not be reasonably understood to be
“ like so much to exceed his Majesty’s, as at this
“ time it was evident it did; and that, having now
“ nothing to lose but his honor, he could be only
“ excusable to the world, by using his industry to
“ the last to oppose the Torrent, which if it pre-
“ vailed would overwhelm him.” This composed
Courage and Magnanimity of his Majesty seemed
too Philosophical, and abstracted from the Policy
of self-preservation, to which most others were pas-
sionately addicted: and that which was the King’s
greatest disadvantage, how many soever were of his
mind (as some few, and but few there were) no Man
durst publicly avow that he was so; a Treaty for
Peace being so popular a thing, that whosoever

opposed it would be sure to be, by general consent, a declared Enemy to his Country. B O O K
VI.

That which prevailed with his Majesty very reasonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, “that it was most probable (and his whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) “that, out of their “pride, and contempt of the King’s weakness and “want of power, the Parliament would refuse to “treat; which would be so unpopular a thing, that, “as his Majesty would highly oblige his People by “making the offer, so They would lose the hearts “of them by rejecting it; which alone would raise “an Army for his Majesty. That if they should embrace it, the King could not but be a gainer; for “by the Propositions which they should make to “him, he would be able to state the Quarrel so “clearly, that it should be more demonstrable to the “Kingdom, than yet it was, that the War was, on “his Majesty’s part, purely defensive; since he “never had, and now would not deny any thing, “which they could in reason, or justice ask: That “this very overture would necessarily produce “some pause, and delay in their preparations, or “motions of their Armies; for some debate it must “needs have; and during that time, men’s minds “would be in suspense; whereas his Majesty should “be so far from slackening his preparations, that he “might be more vigorous in them, by hastening “those Levies, for which his Commissions were out.” For these reasons, and almost the concurrent desire, and importunity of his Council, the King was

B O O K prevailed with to send the Earls of *Southampton*, and
VI. *Dorset*, Sir *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Ex-
 chequer, and Sir *William Udall* (whom his Majesty
 gave leave under that pretence to intend the business
 of his own fortune) to the two Houses with this
 Message, which was sent the third day after his
 Standard was set up.

The King
 sends to the
 two Houses a
 Message for
 Peace by the
 Earl of South-
 ampton, &c.

“ We have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long
 “ beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom. Our
 “ very Soul is full of Anguish, until We may find
 “ some remedy to prevent the miseries, which are
 “ ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil
 “ War. And though all our Endeavours, tending
 “ to the composing of those unhappy differences
 “ betwixt Us and our two Houses of Parliament
 “ (though pursued by Us with all Zeal and sincerity)
 “ have been hitherto without that success We hoped
 “ for; yet such is our constant and earnest care to
 “ preserve the public Peace, that We shall not be
 “ discouraged from using any expedient, which, by
 “ the blessing of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm
 “ foundation of Peace and Happiness to all our good
 “ Subjects. To this end, observing that many mis-
 “ takes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and
 “ Answers, betwixt Us and our two Houses of Par-
 “ liament, which happily may be prevented by
 “ some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters
 “ in difference may be more clearly understood, and
 “ more freely transacted; We have thought fit to
 “ propound to you, that some fit Persons may be
 “ by You enabled to treat with the like Number to be
 “ Authorized by Us, in such a manner, and with

“ such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that
“ happy conclusion which all good Men desire,
“ the Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as We pro-
“ mise, in the word of a King, all safety and en-
“ couragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if
“ You shall chuse the place where We are, for the
“ Treaty, which We wholly leave to You, pre-
“ suming the like care of the safety of those We shall
“ Employ, if You shall name another place; so We
“ assure You, and all our good Subjects, that, to
“ the best of our understanding, nothing shall be
“ therein wanting on our part, which may advance
“ the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and
“ Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon
“ which is built as well our just Prerogative, as the
“ Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all
“ just Power and Privileges of Parliament, and ren-
“ der Us and our People truly happy by a good
“ understanding betwixt Us and our two Houses of
“ Parliament. Bring with you as firm Resolutions
“ to do your Duty; and let all our good People
“ join with us in our Prayers to Almighty God, for
“ his blessing upon this work. If this Proposition
“ shall be rejected by you, We have done our duty
“ so amply, that God will absolve Us from the Guilt
“ of any of that blood which must be spilt; and what
“ opinion soever other Men may have of our Power,
“ We assure you nothing but our Christian and
“ Pious care to prevent the effusion of blood, hath
“ begot this motion; Our Provision of Men, Arms,
“ and Money, being such as may secure Us from
“ farther Violence, till it pleases God to open the
“ Eyes of Our People. ”

BOOK

VI.

How it was
received by
them.

This Message had the same reception his Majesty believed it would have; and was indeed received with unheard of Insolence and Contempt. For the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, desiring to appear themselves before any notice should arrive of their coming, made such haste, that they were at *Westminster* in the morning shortly after the Houses met. The Earl of *Southampton* went into the House of Peers, where he was scarce sat down in his place, when, with great passion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a Message to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordship's sitting in the House upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the House to attend his Majesty. However he was compelled to withdraw; and then they sent the Gentleman Usher of the House to him, to require his Message; which his Lordship said, he was by the King's Command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the Lords made an Order that he should not deliver it himself; which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner received, than they sent him word, "that he should, at his Peril, immediately depart the Town, and that they would take care that their Answer to the Message should be sent to him." And so the Earl of *Southampton* departed the Town, reposing himself at the House of a Noble Person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the Earl had this skirmish with the Lords, Sir *John Colepepper* attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the House without leave, because there had been an Order (which is mentioned

mentioned before) that all the Members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the House satisfaction in the cause of their absence. But he sent word to the Speaker, "that he had a Message from the King to them, and that he desired to deliver it in his place in the House." After some debate (for there remained yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a Member of the House, against whom there had not been the least public objection, and a Privy Counsellor who had been in all times used there with great respect, leave to deliver a Message from the King in his own place as a Member) it was absolutely resolved, "that he should not sit in the House, but that he should deliver his Message at the Bar, and immediately withdraw;" which he did accordingly.

Then the two Houses met at a Conference and read the King's Message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believed, agreed upon their Answer. The King's Messengers, in the mean time, though of that Quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any Members of either House; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others, looking upon them, as Servants to a Master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private Conferences they had with some of the principal Governors; from whom they received no other advice, but that, if the King had any care of Himself or

B O O K his Posterity, he should immediately come to *London*, throw himself into the Arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed. The Answer which they returned to the King was this.

Their Answer. *The Answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesty's Message of the 25th of August 1642.*

“ May it please your Majesty :

“ The Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received your Majesty's Message of the 25th of *August*, do with much grief
 “ resent the dangerous and distracted State of this
 “ Kingdom; which We have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by Our several Advices
 “ and Petitions to your Majesty; which hath been
 “ not only without success, but there hath followed
 “ that which no ill Counsel in former times hath
 “ produced, or any Age hath seen, namely those
 “ several Proclamations and Declarations against
 “ both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their
 “ Actions are declared Treasonable, and their Persons Traitors. And thereupon your Majesty hath
 “ set up your Standard against them, whereby you
 “ have put the two Houses of Parliament, and, in
 “ Them, this whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; so that until your Majesty shall recal those
 “ Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the
 “ Earl of *Essex*, and both Houses of Parliament,
 “ and their Adherents, and Assistants, and such as
 “ have obeyed and executed their Commands and
 “ Directions, according to their duties, are declared
 “ Traytors or otherwise Delinquents: and until the
 “ Standard, set up in pursuance of the said Procla-

" mation, be taken down, your Majesty hath put
 " us into such a condition, that whilst we so remain
 " we cannot, by the fundamental Privileges of
 " Parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or
 " with the general good and safety of this King-
 " dom; give your Majesty any other Answer to
 " this Message."

When the King's Messengers returned with this
 Answer to *Nottingham*, all Men saw to what they
 must trust; and the King believed, he should be no
 farther moved to make Addresses to them. And yet
 all hopes of an Army, or any ability to resist that
 violence seemed so desperate, that he was privately
 advised by some, whom he trusted as much as any,
 and those whose affections were as entire to him as
 any Men's, to give all other thoughts over, and in-
 stantly to make all imaginable haste to *London*, and
 to appear in the Parliament-House before they had
 any expectation of him. And they conceived there
 would be more likelihood for him to prevail that
 way, than by any Army he was like to raise. And
 it must be solely imputed to his Majesty's own reso-
 lution, that he took not that course. However he
 was contented to make so much farther use of their
 pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by
 another Message, to publish more of it to the People;
 and therefore, within three days after the return of
 his Messengers, he sent the Lord *Falkland*, his Prin-
 cipal Secretary of State, with a reply to their Answer
 in these words,

" We will not repeat, what means We have used
 " to prevent the dangerous and distracted Estate of

The King
 sends another
 Message to

B O O K

VI.

the two
Houses.

“ the Kingdom, nor how those means have been
 “ interpreted; because, being desirous to avoid the
 “ effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all
 “ memory of former bitterness, that might render
 “ our offer of a Treaty less readily accepted. We
 “ never did declare, nor ever intended to declare,
 “ both our Houses of Parliament Traitors, or set
 “ up our Standard against them; and much less to
 “ put them and this Kingdom out of our Protection.
 “ We utterly profess against it before God, and the
 “ world; and farther to remove all possible Scruples,
 “ which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by
 “ us, We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed
 “ by you for the revoking of your Declarations
 “ against all Persons as Traytors, or otherwise,
 “ for assisting us; We shall with all cheerfulness,
 “ upon the same day recal Our Proclamations and
 “ Declarations, and take down our Standard. In
 “ which Treaty, We shall be ready to grant any
 “ thing, that shall be really for the good of our Sub-
 “ jects: conjuring you to consider the bleeding con-
 “ dition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition
 “ of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our
 “ Offers We have declared Ourself to do. And
 “ assuring you, that our chief desire in this world,
 “ is to beget a good understanding, and mutual
 “ confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of
 “ Parliament.”

This Message had no better effect, or reception
 than the former; their principal Officers being sent
 down since the last Message to *Northampton* to put
 the Army into a readiness to march. And now they

required the Earl of *Essex* himself to make haste thither, that no more time might be lost, sending by the Lord *Falkland*, within two days, this Answer to the King.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;
The humble Answer and Petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, unto the King's last Message.

Their Answer.

" May it please your Majesty :

" If We, the Lords and Commons in Parliament
" assembled, should repeat all the ways We have
" taken, the endeavours We have used, and the
" expressions We have made unto your Majesty,
" to prevent those distractions, and dangers your
" Majesty speaks of, We should too much enlarge
" this reply. Therefore, as We humbly, so shall
" We Only let your Majesty know, that We can-
" not recede from our former Answer, for the rea-
" son therein expressed. For that your Majesty hath
" not taken down your Standard, recalled your
" Proclamations and Declarations, whereby you
" have declared the Actions of both Houses of Par-
" liament to be Treasonable, and their Persons Tray-
" tors; and you have published the same since your
" Message of the 25th of *August*, by your late In-
" structions sent to your Commissioners of Array;
" which Standard being taken down, and the Decla-
" rations, Proclamations, and Instructions recalled,
" if your Majesty shall then, upon this our humble
" Petition, leaving your Forces, return unto your
" Parliament, and receive their faithful advice,
" your Majesty will find such expressions of our

B O O K
VI.

“ fidelities , and duties, as shall assure you, that your
 “ safety, honor, and greatness, can only be found
 “ in the affections of your People, and the sincere
 “ counsels of your Parliament; whose constant and
 “ undiscouraged endeavours and consultations have
 “ passed through difficulties unheard of, only to se-
 “ cure your Kingdoms from the violent mischiefs
 “ and dangers now ready to fall upon them, and
 “ every part of them; who deserve better of your
 “ Majesty, and can never allow themselves (repre-
 “ senting likewise your whole Kingdom) to be ba-
 “ lanced with those Persons, whose desperate dispo-
 “ sitions and Counsels prevail still to interrupt all
 “ Our Endeavours for the relieving of bleeding
 “ *Ireland*; as we may fear Our Labors, and vast
 “ expences will be fruitless to that distressed King-
 “ dom. As your presence is thus humbly desired by
 “ us, so it is in our hopes your Majesty will in your
 “ reason believe, there is no other way than this,
 “ to make your Majesty’s self happy, and your
 “ Kingdom safe.”

And lest this Overture of a Treaty might be a means to allay and compose the distempers of the People, and that the hope and expectation of Peace might not dishearten their Party, in their preparations and contributions to the War, the same day they sent their last Answer to the King, they published this Declaration to the Kingdom.

The two
Houses De-
claration to
the King-
dom.

“ Whereas his Majesty, in a Message received
 “ the 5th of *September*, requires that the Parliament
 “ would revoke their Declarations against such Per-
 “ sons, as have assisted his Majesty in this unna-

“ tural War against his Kingdom; it is this day or-
“ dered, and declared by the Lords and Commons,
“ that the Arms, which they have been forced to
“ take up, and shall be forced to take up, for the
“ preservation of the Parliament, Religion, the
“ Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be
“ laid down, until his Majesty shall withdraw his
“ Protection from such Persons as have been voted
“ by both Houses to be Delinquents, or that shall
“ by both Houses be voted to be Delinquents, and
“ shall leave them to the justice of the Parliament to
“ be proceeded with according to their demerit; to
“ the end that both this and succeeding Generations
“ may take warning, with what danger they incur
“ the like heinous crimes: and also to the end that
“ those great charges and damages, wherewith all
“ the Common-wealth hath been burdened in the
“ premises, since his Majesty's departure from the
“ Parliament, may be borne by the Delinquents,
“ and other Malignant and Disaffected Persons: and
“ that all his Majesty's good and well affected Sub-
“ jects, who by Loan of Monies, or otherwise at
“ their charge, have assisted the Common-wealth,
“ or shall in like manner hereafter assist the Common-
“ wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repay-
“ ed all Sums of Money lent by them for those pur-
“ poses, and be satisfied their charges so sustained,
“ out of the Estates of the said Delinquents, and
“ of the Malignant and Disaffected Party in this
“ Kingdom.”

This Declaration did the King no harm; for be-
sides that it was evident to all Men, that the King

B O O K
VI.

had done whatsoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a Civil War, all Persons of Honor and Quality plainly discerned, that they had no safety but in the preservation of the Regal power, since their Estates were already disposed of by them who could declare whom they would Delinquents, and would infallibly declare all such who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the King received by those overtures, and the pride, forwardness, and perverseness of the Rebels, is not imaginable; his Levies of Men, and all other preparations for the War, being incredibly advanced from the time of his first Message. Prince *Rupert* lay still with the Horse at *Leicester*; and though He, and some of the principal Officers with him, were discontented to that degree, upon the King's first Message and desire of a Treaty, as likely not only to destroy all hopes of raising an Army, but to sacrifice those who were raised, that they were not without some thoughts, at least discourses, of offering violence to the principal Advisers of it, he now found his Numbers increased, and better resolved by it; and from *Yorkshire*, *Lincolnshire*, and *Straffordshire*, came very good recruits of Foot; so that his Cannon and Munition being likewise come up from *York*, within twenty days his Numbers began to look towards an Army; and there was another Air in all Men's faces; yet *Nottingham* seemed not a good Post for his Majesty to stay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Essex* being then with his whole Army at *Northampton*, his Majesty marched

from *Nottingham* to *Derby*; being not then resolved whether to bend his course to *Shrewsbury* or *Chester*, not well knowing the temper of those Towns, in both which the Parliament-Party had been very active; but resolving to sit down near the borders of *Wales*, where the power of the Parliament had been least prevalent, and where some Regiments of Foot were Levying for his Service. Before his leaving *Nottingham*, as a farewell to his hopes of a Treaty, and to make the deeper sense and impression, in the hearts of the People, of those who had so pertinaciously rejected it, his Majesty sent this Message to the Houses.

“ Who have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers; let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as by Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitless, that, though We have descended to desire and press it, not so much as a Treaty can be obtained; unless We would denude ourself of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us; and admit those Persons as Traytors to us, who, according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Us, their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in conscience and honor to preserve) though We disclaimed all our Proclamations, and Declarations, and the erecting of our Standard, as against our Parliament. All we have now left in Our power, is to express the deep sense We have of the public misery of

B O O K
VI.

Another
Message from
the King to
the two
Houses in
Reply to their
Answer.

BOOK
VI.

“ this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our
 “ distressed Protestants of *Ireland*; and to apply our-
 “ self to our necessary defence, wherein We whole-
 “ ly rely upon the providence of God, the Justice
 “ of our Cause, and the Affection of our good
 “ People; so far We are from putting them out of
 “ our Protection. When you shall desire a Treaty
 “ of us, We shall piously remember, whose blood
 “ is to be spilt in this quarrel, and cheerfully em-
 “ brace it. And as no other reason induced Us to
 “ leave our City of *London*, but that, with honor
 “ and safety We could not stay there; nor to raise
 “ any force, but for the necessary defence of our
 “ Person and the Law, against Levies in opposition
 “ to both; so We shall suddenly and most willing-
 “ ly return to the One, and disband the Other,
 “ as soon as those causes shall be removed. The
 “ God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert
 “ those judgments, which hang over this Nation;
 “ and so deal with Us, and our Posterity, as We
 “ desire the preservation, and advancement of the
 “ true Protestant Religion; the Law, and the Li-
 “ berty of the Subject; the just Rights of Parliament,
 “ and the Peace of the Kingdom.

The King
removes to
Derby.

When the King came to *Derby*, he received clear information from the well affected Party in *Shrewsbury*, that the Town was at His devotion; and that the very rumor of his Majesty's purpose of coming thither, had driven away all those who were most inclined to sedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the strong and pleasant situation of it (one side being defended by the *Severn*, the other having a

secure passage into *Wales*, the confines of *Montgomeryshire* extending very near the Town) as for the correspondence with *Worcester*, of which City he hoped well, and that by his being at *Shrewsbury*, he should be as well able to secure *Chester*, as by carrying his whole Train so far North; besides that the other might give some apprehension of his going into *Ireland*, which had been formerly mentioned, his Majesty resolved for that Town; and, after one day's stay at *Derby*, by easy marches he went thither, drawing his whole small Forces to Rendezvous at *Wellington*, a day's march short of *Shrewsbury*; and that being the first time that they were together, his Majesty then caused his Military Orders for the Discipline and Government of the Army to be read at the head of each Regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not much unlike the Emperor *Trajan*, who, when he made *Sura* Great Marshal of the *Empire*, gave him a Sword, saying, "Receive this Sword of me, and if I command as I ought, employ it in my defence; if I do otherwise, draw it against me, and take my life from me," his Majesty made this Speech to his Soldiers.

"Gentlemen, you have heard those Orders read:
 "it is Your part, in your several places, to observe
 "them exactly; the time cannot be long before We
 "come to Action, therefore you have the more reason
 "to be careful; and I must tell you, I shall be
 "very severe in the punishing of those, of what
 "condition soever, who transgress these Instruc-

The King's
 Speech and
 Protestation
 at the head
 of his Forces,
 after the
 reading his
 Orders of
 War.

B O O K

VI.

“ tions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Reso-
 “ lution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath
 “ brought you hither, to Fight for your Religion,
 “ your King, and the Laws of the Land. You shall
 “ meet with no Enemies but Traytors, most of
 “ them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists*; such
 “ who desire to destroy both Church and State,
 “ and who have already condemned You to ruin
 “ for being Loyal to Us. That you may see what
 “ use I mean to make of your Valor, if it please God
 “ to bless it with success, I have thought fit to
 “ publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation;
 “ which when you have heard me make, you will
 “ believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in
 “ which I promise to live and die with you.”

The Protestation his Majesty was then pleased to
 make was in these words.

“ I do promise in the presence of Almighty God,
 “ and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that
 “ I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and
 “ maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion,
 “ established in the Church of *England*; and, by
 “ the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

“ I desire to govern by all the known Laws of the
 “ Land, and that the Liberty, and Property of the
 “ Subject, may be by them preserved with the same
 “ care, as my own just Rights. And if it please God,
 “ by his blessing upon this Army, raised for my
 “ necessary defence, to preserve me from this Rebel-
 “ lion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the
 “ sight of God, to maintain the just Privileges and
 “ Freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the

“ known Laws of the Land to my utmost power ;
 “ and particularly , to observe inviolably the Laws
 “ consented to by me this Parliament. In the mean
 “ while, if this time of War, and the great necessity,
 “ and straits I am now driven to, beget any viola-
 “ tion of those , I hope it shall be imputed by God
 “ and Men to the Authors of this War, and not to
 “ Me, who have so earnestly labored for the prefer-
 “ vation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will
 “ expect no aid or relief from any Man, or Pro-
 “ tection from Heaven. But in this resolution, I hope
 “ for the cheerful assistance of all good Men, and
 “ am confident of God’s blessing.”

This Protestation, and the manner and solemnity
 of making it, gave not more life and encourage-
 ment to the little Army, than it did comfort and
 satisfaction to the Gentry and Inhabitants of those
 parts; into whom the Parliament had infused, that,
 if his Majesty prevailed by force, he would, with
 the same power, abolish all those good Laws,
 which had been made this Parliament; so that they
 looked upon this Protestation, as a more ample se-
 curity for their enjoying the benefit of those Acts,
 than the Royal Assent he had before given. And a
 more general, and passionate expression of affections
 cannot be imagined, than he received by the
 People of those Counties of *Derby, Strafford*, and
Shropshire, as he passed; or a better reception, than
 he found at *Shrewsbury*; into which Town he en-
 tered on *Tuesday* the 20th of *September*.

The King
 comes to
 Shrewsbury.

It will be, and was then, wondered at, that since

B O O K
VI.

the Parliament had a full and well formed Army, before the King had one full Regiment, and the Earl of *Essex* was Himself come to *Northampton*, some days before his Majesty went from *Nottingham*, his Lordship neither disquieted the King whilst he stayed there, nor gave him any disturbance in his march to *Shrewsbury*; which if he had done, he might either have taken him Prisoner, or so dispersed his small power, that it would never have been possible for him to have gotten an Army together. But as the Earl had not yet received his Instructions, so they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of mere pride, and contempt of the King's Forces; and upon a presumption, that it would not be possible for him to raise such a power, as would be able to look Their Army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and those, who not only followed him upon their own charges, but supported those who were not able to bear their own (for his Army was maintained and paid by the Nobility and Gentry, who served likewise in their own Persons) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burden, his Majesty would be forced to put himself into Their Arms for Protection and Subsistence; and such a Victory without blood had crowned all their designs. And if their Army, which they pretended to raise only for their defence, and for the safety of the King's Person, had been able to prevent the King's raising any, or if the King, in that Melancholic conjuncture at *Nottingham*, had returned to *White-Hall*, he had justified all their proceedings, and could

never after have refused to yield to whatsoever they proposed. B O O K
VI.

And it is most certain, that the Common Soldiers of their Army were generally persuaded, that they should never be brought to fight, but that the King was in truth little better than imprisoned by evil Counsellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers (the terms applied to his whole Party) and would gladly come to his Parliament if he could break from that company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their Army came once to such a distance, that his Majesty might make an escape to them. In this kind of discourse they were so sottish, that they were persuaded, that those Persons of whose Piety, Honor, and Integrity, they had received heretofore the greatest Testimony, were Now turned Papists; and that the small Army, and Forces the King had, consisted of no other than Papists. Infomuch as truly those of the King's Party, who promised themselves any support, but from the comfort of their own consciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reasonable; for his Enemies were in a manner possessed of the whole Kingdom.

Portsmouth, the strongest and best fortified Town then in the Kingdom, was surrendered to them; Colonel Goring, about the beginning of September, though he had seemed to be so long resolved, and prepared to expect a Siege, and had been supplied with Moneys according to his own proposal, was brought so low, that he gave it up, only for liberty Col. Goring
surrenders
Portsmouth.

B O O K

VI.

to transport Himself beyond Seas, and for his Officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those, who had been so often deceived by him, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him, more than once, before this discourse comes to an end.

The Marquis
of Hertford's
proceedings in
the West.

The Marquis of *Hertford*, though he had so much discredited the Earl of *Bedford*'s Soldiery, and disheartened his great Army, that the Earl (after lying in the Field four or five Nights within less than Cannon-shot of the Castle, and Town, and after having refused to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a Challenge) sent Sir *John Norcot*, under pretence of a Treaty and the Godly care to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, in plain *English* to desire "that he might fairly and peaceably draw off his Forces, and march away;" the which, how reasonable a request soever it was, the Marquis refused; sending them word, "that as they came thither upon their own Counsels, so they should get off as they could:" and at last they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repose; leaving the Marquis, for some weeks, undisturbed at *Sherborne*: yet when he heard of the loss of *Portsmouth*, the relief whereof was his principal business, and so that those Forces would probably be added to the Earl of *Bedford*, and by their success give much courage to his bashful Army, and that a good Regiment of Horse, which he expected (for Sir *John Byron* had

had sent him word from *Oxford*, that he would march towards him) was retired to the King; and that the Committees were now so busy in the several Counties, that the People, in all places, declared for the Parliament; and more particularly some strong and populous Towns in *Somersetshire*; as *Taunton*, *Wellington*, and *Dunstar-Castle*; by reason whereof it would not be possible for him to increase his strength, he resolved to leave *Sherborne*, where his stay could no way advance the King's Service; and to try all ways to get to his Majesty. But when he came to *Minhead*, a Port-Town, from whence he made no doubt he should be able to transport Himself, and his company into *Wales*, he found the People both of the Town and County so disaffected, that all the boats of which there used always to be great store, by reason of the trade for Cattle and Corn with *Wales*, were industriously sent away, save only two; so that the Earl of *Bedford* having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his Army, his Lordship, with his small Cannon and few Foot, with the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, and some Gentlemen of *Somersetshire*, transported himself into *Glamorganshire*; leaving Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkeley*, Mr. *Digby*, and some other Officers with their Horse (consisting of about one hundred and twenty) to march into *Cornwal*, in hopes to find that Country better prepared for their reception.

Thence transported himself into Glamorganshire

On the other hand, the Earl of *Bedford*, thinking those few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be easily apprehended by the Committee of the Militia, which was very powerful in

B O O K
VI.

Devon, and Cornwall, contented himself with having driven away the Marquis, and so expelled all hope of raising an Army for the King in the West; and retired with his Forces to the Earl of *Essex*, as Sir *William Waller* had done from *Portsmouth*; so that as it was not expected, that the Forces about his Majesty could be able to defend him against so puissant an Army, so it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of strength from any other parts. For wherever they found any Person of Quality inclined to the King, or but disinclined to Them, they immediately seized upon his Person, and sent him in great Triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to Prison, with all circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity.

Thus they took Prisoner the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, at his House in *Northamptonshire*, a Person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemished Reputation, for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the King, and more expressly against their Ordinance for the Militia; and notwithstanding that he had a Brother of the House of Peers, the Lord Privy - Seal, and a Nephew the Lord *Kimbolton*, who had as full a power in that Council as any Man, and a Son in the House of Commons very unlike his Father; his Lordship was committed to the Tower a close Prisoner; and though he was afterwards remitted to more Air, he continued a Prisoner to his death.

Thus they took Prisoner in *Oxfordshire* the Earl of *Berkshire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen

of that County ; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reason but wishing well to the King ; for they never appeared in the least Action in his Service. And thus they took Prisoner the Earl of *Bath* in *Devonshire*, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the least service ; but only out of the morosity of his own Nature, had before, in the House, expressed himself not of their minds ; and carried him with many other Gentlemen of *Devon* and *Somerset*, with a strong Guard of Horse, to *London* ; where, after they had been exposed to the rudeness and reproach of the Common People, who called them Traytors and Rebels to the Parliament, and pursued them with such usage as they use to the most infamous Malefactors, they were, without ever being examined, or charged with any particular crime, committed to several Prisons ; so that not only all the Prisons about *London* were quickly filled with Persons of Honor, and great Reputation for sobriety and integrity to their Counties, but new Prisons were made for their reception ; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many Persons of very good Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, were committed to Prison on board the Ships in the River of *Thames* ; where they were kept under Decks, and no friend suffered to come to them, by which many lost their lives. And that the loss of their Liberty might not be all their punishment, it was the usual course, and very few escaped it, after any Man was committed as a notorious Malignant (which was the brand) that his Estate and Goods were seized, or plundered by an Order from the House of Com-

B O O K mons, or some Committee, or the Soldiers, who
VI. in their march took the Goods of all Papists and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and Licence of the Common People, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage against the Nobility and Gentry (under the Style of Cavaliers) that it was not safe for any to live at their Houses, who were taken notice of as no Votaries to the Parliament.

So the Common People (no doubt by the advice of their Superiors) in *Essex* on a sudden beset the House of Sir *John Lucas*, one of the best Gentlemen of that County, and of the most eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of *Wales*; and upon pretence that he was going to the King, possessed themselves of all his Horses and Arms, seized upon his Person, and used him with all possible indignities, not without some threats to murder him; and when the Mayor of *Colchester*, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the rest, offered to keep him Prisoner in his own House, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be farther known, they compelled him, or he was willing to be compelled, to send him to the Common Goal; where he remained, glad of that security, till the House of Commons removed him to another Prison (without ever charging him with any crime) having sent all his Horses to the Earl of *Essex*, to be used in the service of that Army.

At the same time the same Rabble entered the House of the Countess of *Rivers* near *Colchester*; for no other ground, than that she was a Papist; and in

few hours disfurnished it of all the Goods, which had been many years with great curiosity providing, and were not of less value than forty thousand pounds sterling; the Countess herself hardly escaping, after great insolence had been used to her Person: And she could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. These and many other Instances of the same kind in *London* and the parts adjacent, gave sufficient evidence to all Men how little else They were to keep, who meant to preserve their Allegiance and Integrity in the full Vigor.

I must not forget, though it cannot be remembered without much horror, that this strange Wild-fire among the people, was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both administered fuel, and blowed the Coals in the Houses too. These Men having crept into, and at last driven all Learned and Orthodox Men from the Pulpits, had, as is before remembered, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the Notion of Reformation and extirpating of Popery, infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of Men against the present Government of the Church, with many libellous invectives against the State too. But since the raising of an Army, and rejecting the King's last overture of a Treaty, they contained themselves within no bounds; and as freely and without control, inveighed against the Person of the King, as they had before against the worst Malignant; prophanely, and blasphemously applying whatsoever had been spoken and declared by God Himself, or the Prophets, against the most wicked and impious

B O O K Kings to incense and stir up the People against their
VI. most Gracious Sovereign.

There are Monuments enough in the seditious Sermons at that time printed, and in the Memories of Men, of others not printed, of such wresting, and perverting of Scripture to the odious purposes of the Preacher, that pious Men will not look over without trembling. One takes his Text out of *Moses's* words in the 32^d Chap. of *Exodus* and the 26th Verse. *Consecrate yourselves to day to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother, that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day:* And from thence incites his Auditory to the utmost prosecution of those, under what relation soever of Blood, Neighbourhood, Dependance, who concurred not in the Reformation proposed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with *David's* words, in the 1st *Chron* 22^d Chap. 16th Verse. *Arise therefore and be doing:* And from thence assures, it was not enough to wish well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purse, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts to the assistance of it, the duty in the Text was not performed. There were more than Mr. *Marshall*, who from the 23^d Verse of the 5th Chap. of *Judges*. *Curse ye Meroz said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty,* presumed to inveigh against, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curse against all those, who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree opposed the Parliament.

There was one, who from the 48th Chap. of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and the 10th Verse. *Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood*; reproved those who gave any quarter to the King's Soldiers. And another out of the 5th Verse of the 25th Chap. of *Proverbs*. *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in righteousness*; made it no less a case of Conscience by force to remove the evil Counsellors from the King (with bold intimation what might be done to the King Himself, if he would not suffer them to be removed) than to perform any Christian duty that is enjoined. It would fill a Volume to insert all the impious madness of this kind, so that the complaint of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, might most truly, and seasonably have been applied, *There is a conspiracy of her Prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring Lion ravening the Prey, they have devoured Souls, they have taken the Treasure, and precious things, they have made her many Widows in the midst thereof*. Ezek. xxii. v. 25.

It was the complaint of *Erasmus* of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to Wars, *alius é sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, says he. And indeed no good Christian can, without horror, think of those Ministers of the Church, who by their Function being Messengers of Peace, were the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion. How much more Christian was that *Athenian Nun* in *Plutarch*, and how shall She rise up in judgment

B O O K VI. against those Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemned by the public Justice of the State, and a Decree made that all the Religious Priests and Women should ban and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that office; answering, "that she was professed Religious, to *pray* and to *bless*, not to *curse*" and to *ban*." And if the Person, and the Place can improve and aggravate the offence (as without doubt it doth, both before God and Man) methinks the Preaching Treason and Rebellion out of the Pulpits should be worse than the advancing it in the Market, as much as poisoning a Man at the Communion would be worse than murdering him at a Tavern. And it may be, in that Catalogue of Sins, which the Zeal of some Men hath thought to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost, there may not any one be more reasonably thought to be such, than a Minister of Christ's turning Rebel against his Prince (which is a most notorious Apostacy against his Order) and his Preaching Rebellion, to the People, as the Doctrine of Christ; which, adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his Apostacy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that Sin against the Holy Ghost.

The Earl of
Essex moves
with his Army
from North-
ampton.

Within three or four days after the King's remove from *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Essex*, with his whole Army, removed from *Northampton*, and marched towards *Worcester*; of which his Majesty had no sooner Intelligence, than he sent Prince *Rupert*, with the greatest part of the Horse, on the other side of the *Severn*, towards that City; as well to observe the motion of the Enemy, as to give all assistance

to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at least to countenance and secure the retreat of those Gentlemen, who were there raising Forces for the King; but especially to join with Sir *John Byron*, whom his Majesty had sent, in the end of *August*, to *Oxford*, to convey some Money, which had been secretly brought from *London* thither to his Majesty. And he, after some small disasters in his March, by the insurrection of the Country-People, who were encouraged by the Agents for the Parliament, and seconded by the Officers of the Militia, came safe with his charge to *Worcester*; where he had been very few hours, when a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, being sent by the Earl of *Essex*, under the Command of *Nathaniel Fines*, Son to the Lord *Say*, came to surprise the Town; which was open enough to have been entered in many places, though in some it had an old decayed Wall; and, at the most usual and frequented entrances into the City, weak and rotten Gates to be shut, but without either Lock or Bolt.

Yet this Commander, coming early in the morning, when the small Guard which had watched, conceiving all to be secure, were gone to rest, and being within Musquet-shot of the Gate before he was discovered, finding that weak Gate shut, or rather closed against him, and not that quick appearance of a Party within the Town, as he promised himself, without doing any harm, retired in great disorder, and with so much haste, that the wearied Horse, sent out presently to attend him, could not overtake any of his Train; so that when Prince

B O O K
VI.

Rupert came thither, they did not conceive any considerable Party of the Enemy to be near. However his Highness resolved to retire from thence, as soon as he should receive perfect Intelligence of the motion of the Enemy, when on the sudden reposing himself on the ground with Prince *Maurice* his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, and the principal Officers in the field before the Town, some of his wearied Troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the rest and most of the Officers in the Town, he espied a fair Body of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, marching in very good Order up a Lane within Musquet-shot of him. In this confusion, they had scarce time to get upon their Horses, and none to consult of what was to be done, or to put themselves into their several places of Command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all those Officers had been in the heads of their several Troops, it is not impossible it might have been worse. But the Prince instantly declaring, "that he would Charge;" his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, Commissary-General *Wilmot*, Sir *John Byron*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, and all those Officers and Gentlemen, whose Troops were not present or ready, put themselves next the Prince, the other wearied Troops coming in order after them.

A Rencontre
between the
Forces near
Worcester,
where Prince
Rupert gets
the better.

In this manner the Prince Charged them, as soon as they came out of the Lane; and being seconded by this handful of good Men, though the Rebels being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys* (a Gentleman of *Kent*, and the Son of a worthy Father)

and completely armed both for Offence, and Defence, stood well; yet in a short time, many of their best Men being killed, and Colonel *Sandys* Himself falling with his hurts, the whole Body was routed, fled, and was pursued by the Conquerors for the space of above a mile. The number of the slain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and those most Officers; for their Arms were so good, that in the charge they were not to be easily killed, and in the chase the goodness of their Horse made it impossible. Colonel *Sandys* who died shortly after of his wounds, Captain *Wingate* who was the more known, by being a Member of the House of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himself stoutly, and two or three *Scottish* Officers, were taken Prisoners. Of the King's Party none of Name was lost: Commissary-General *Wilmot* hurt with a Sword in the side, and Sir *Lewis Dives* in the shoulder, and two or three other Officers of inferior Note; none miscarrying of their wounds, which was the more strange for that, by reason they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's side, a piece of Armour worn that day, and but few Pistols; so that most of the hurt that was done was by the Sword. Six or seven Cornets of the Enemies were taken, and many good Horses, and some Arms; for they who run away made themselves as light as they could.

This Rencounter proved of great advantage, and benefit to the King. For it being the first Action his Horse had been brought to, and that party of the Enemy being the most picked and choice Men, it

BOOK VI. gave his Troops great courage, and rendered the name of Prince *Rupert* very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their Horse, and their very Numbers were much lessened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief Officers of Name and Reputation either killed, or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never returned to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible, and unresistible courage of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse. So that, from this time, the Parliament, begun to be apprehensive, that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare Votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat (for no question many who had made the greatest noise, wished they were again to chuse their side) the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder Acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

For to the first, to show how secure they were against resentment from his Allies, as well as against his Majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin-Friars, who, by the Articles of Marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the

Queen's Family, and had, by her Majesty's care, and at her charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own Chapel, in her own House, in the *Strand*, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the Marriage, after many insolencies and indignities offered to them by the rude Multitude, even within those Gates of her own House, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over into *France*, with protestation "that if they were found again in *England*, they should be proceeded against as Traytors:" and this in the face of the *French* Ambassador, who notwithstanding withdrew not from them his Courtship, and Application.

Then, that the King might know how little they dreaded his Forces, they sent down their Instructions to the Earl of *Essex* their General, who had long expected them; whereby among other things of form for the better discipline of the Army, "They required him to march with such Forces as he thought fit, towards the Army raised, in his Majesty's Name, against the Parliament, and the Kingdom; and with them, or any part of them, to fight, at such time and place as he should judge most to conduce to the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom: and that he should use his utmost endeavour by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his Majesty's Person, and the Persons of the Prince, and Duke of *York*, out of the hands of those desperate persons, who were then about them. They directed him to take an opportunity, in some safe and honorable way, to cause the Petition of both

The two
Houses In-
structions to
their General.

B O O K

VI.

“ Houses of Parliament, then sent to him, to be
“ presented to his Majesty; and if his Majesty should
“ thereupon please to withdraw himself from the
“ Forces then about him, and to resort to the Par-
“ liament, his Lordship should cause his Majesty’s
“ Forces to disband, and should serve and defend
“ his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his return.
“ They required his Lordship to publish and declare,
“ that if any who had been so seduced, by the false
“ aspersions cast upon the proceedings of the Parlia-
“ ment, as to assist the King in acting of those dan-
“ gerous Counsels, should willingly, within ten
“ days after such publication in the Army, return
“ to their duty, not doing any hostile Act within
“ the time limited, and join themselves with the
“ Parliament in defence of Religion, his Majesty’s
“ Person, the Liberties, and Law of the Kingdom,
“ and Privileges of Parliament, with their Persons,
“ and Estates, as the Members of both Houses, and
“ the rest of the Kingdom have done, that the Lords
“ and Commons would be ready, upon their sub-
“ mission, to receive such persons in such a manner,
“ as they should have cause to acknowledge they
“ had been used with clemency and favor; provided
“ that That favor should not extend to admit any
“ Man into either House of Parliament, who stood
“ suspended, without giving satisfaction to the House
“ whereof he should be a Member; and except all Per-
“ sons who stood impeached, or particularly voted
“ against in either House of Parliament for any De-
“ linquency whatsoever; excepting likewise such
“ adherents of those, who stood impeached in Par-

“liament of Treason, as had been eminent Persons,
 “and chief Actors in those Treasons.” And lest
 those clauses of exception (which no doubt com-
 prehended all the King’s Party, and if not, They
 were still to be judges of their own clemency and
 favor, which was all was promised to the humblest
 penitent) might invite those, whom they had no
 mind to receive on any terms, they vouchsafed a
 “particular exception of the Earl of *Bristol*, the
 “Earl of *Cumberland*, the Earl of *New-Castle*, the
 “Earl of *Rivers*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl
 “of *Carnarvon*, the Lord *Newark*, and the Lord
 “Viscount *Falkland* Principal Secretary of State to
 “his Majesty, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. *Endy-*
 “*mion Porter*, Mr. *Edward Hyde* ;” against not one
 of whom was there a Charge depending of any crime,
 and against very few of them so much as a Vote,
 which was no great matter of Delinquency.

It will be here necessary to insert the Petition, di-
 rected to be presented in some safe and honorable
 way to his Majesty ; the rather for that the same was,
 upon the reasons hereafter mentioned, never pre-
 sented ; which was afterwards objected to his Majesty
 as a rejection of Peace on His part, when They
 desired it. The Petition was in these words.

“We your Majesty’s Loyal Subjects, the Lords
 “and Commons in Parliament, cannot, without
 “great grief, and tenderness of compassion, behold
 “the pressing miseries, the imminent dangers, and
 “the devouring calamities, which extremely threat-
 “en, and have partly seized upon both your King-
 “doms of *England*, and *Ireland*, by the practices

The Petition
 of both Hou-
 ses to the
 King, sent
 to the Gene-
 ral to be
 presented,
 but never
 believed.

B O O K
VI.

“ of a Party prevailing with your Majesty ; who ;
“ by many wicked Plots and Conspiracies have at-
“ tempted the alteration of the true Religion, and
“ the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and
“ the introducing of Popish Idolatry and Supersti-
“ tion in the Church, and Tyranny and Confusion
“ in the State ; and, for the compassing thereof, have
“ long corrupted your Majesty’s Counsels, abused
“ your power, and by sudden and untimely dissol-
“ ving of former Parliaments, have often hindered
“ the reformation, and prevention of those mischiefs :
“ and being now disabled to avoid the endeavours
“ of this Parliament, by any such means, have
“ Traiterously attempted to overawe the same by
“ Force, and, in prosecution of their wicked designs,
“ have excited, encouraged, and fostered, an un-
“ natural Rebellion in *Ireland* ; by which, in a most
“ cruel and outrageous manner, many thousands of
“ your Majesty’s Subjects there, have been de-
“ stroyed ; and, by false slanders upon your Parlia-
“ ment, and malicious and unjust Accusations,
“ have endeavoured to begin the like Massacre Here ;
“ and being, through God’s blessing, therein dis-
“ appointed, have, as the most mischievous and
“ bloody design of all, drawn your Majesty to make
“ War against your Parliament ; and good Subjects
“ of this Kingdom, leading in your Person an Army
“ against them, as if you intended, by Conquest,
“ to establish an absolute and unlimited power over
“ them ; and by your power, and the countenance
“ of your presence, have ransacked, spoiled, im-
“ prisoned, and murdered divers of your people ;
“ and ,

“ and, for their better assistance in their wicked
 “ designs, do seek to bring over the Rebels of
 “ *Ireland*, and other Forces beyond the Seas, to
 “ join with them.

“ And We, finding ourselves utterly deprived
 “ of your Majesty’s Protection, and the Authors,
 “ Counsellors, and Abettors of these mischiefs in
 “ greatest power and favor with your Majesty, and
 “ defended by You against the Justice, and Autho-
 “ rity of your High Court of Parliament; whereby
 “ they are grown to that height and insolence, as
 “ to manifest their rage and malice against those of
 “ the Nobility, and others, who are any whit in-
 “ clinable to Peace, not without great appearance
 “ of danger to your own Royal Person, if you shall
 “ not in all things concur with their wicked and
 “ Traiterous courses; have, for the just and neces-
 “ sary defence of the Protestant Religion, of your
 “ Majesty’s Person, Crown, and Dignity, of the
 “ Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Pri-
 “ vileges and Power of Parliament, taken up Arms,
 “ and appointed and authorized *Robert Earl of Essex*
 “ to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raised,
 “ and to lead and conduct the same against these
 “ Rebels and Traitors, and them to subdue, and
 “ bring to condign punishment; and do most hum-
 “ bly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your Royal
 “ presence and countenance from those wicked Per-
 “ sons; and, if they shall stand out in defence of
 “ their Rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your
 “ Majesty will leave them to be suppressed by that
 “ power, which We have sent against them; and

VOL. V. E

B O O K
VI.

“ that your Majesty will not mix your own dangers
“ with theirs, but in Peace and Safety, without
“ your Forces, forthwith return to your Parliament;
“ and by their faithful Counsel and Advice, com-
“ pose the present distempers and confusions abound-
“ ing in both your Kingdoms; and provide for the
“ security and honor of yourself, and your Royal
“ Posterity, and the prosperous Estate of all your
“ Subjects; wherein if your Majesty please to yield
“ to our most humble, and earnest desires, We do,
“ in the presence of Almighty God, profess, that
“ We will receive your Majesty with all honor,
“ yield you all due obedience, and subjection, and
“ faithfully endeavour to secure your Person and
“ Estate from all dangers; and, to the uttermost of
“ our power, to procure and establish to yourself,
“ and to your People, all the blessings of a glorious
“ and happy Reign.”

Besides this, that it might appear, they were nothing jealous or apprehensive of the People's defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general desire of the Kingdom the ground, and argument for whatsoever they had done, and had only invited Men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of those who opposed their proceedings, or privately dissuaded other Men from concurring with them, but of those, who either out of fear, or covetousness, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly published their Votes (which were Laws to the People, or of

much more Authority) " That all such Persons, as
 " should not contribute to the charge of the Common-
 " wealth, in that time of eminent necessity, should
 " be disarmed and secured;" and that this Vote
 might be the more terrible, they ordered, the same
 day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* " to search
 " the Houses, and seize the Arms belonging to some
 " Aldermen, and other principal substantial Citi-
 " zens of *London*," whom they named in their Or-
 der; " for that it appeared by the report from their
 " Committee, that they had not contributed, as
 " they ought, to the charge of the Common-
 " wealth."

B O O K

VI

Votes of both
 Houses for
 raising and
 procuring
 Money.

By this means the poorest, and lowest of the Peo-
 ple, became Informers against the richest, and most
 substantial; and the result of searching the Houses
 and seizing the Arms was, the taking away Plate,
 and things of the greatest Value, and very frequently
 plundering whatsoever was worth the keeping. They
 farther appointed, " that the Fines, Rents, and
 " Profits, of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans
 " and Chapters, and of all Delinquents, who had
 " taken up Arms against the Parliament, or had
 " been Active in the Commission of Array, should
 " be sequestered for the use and benefit of the Com-
 " mon-wealth." And that the King might not fare
 better than his Adherents, they directed " all his
 " Revenue, arising out of Rents, Fines in Courts
 " of Justice, Composition for Wards, and the like,
 " and all other his Revenue should be brought into
 " the several Courts, and other places, where they
 " ought to be paid in," and not issued forth, or

B O O K paid forth, until farther Order should be taken by
VI. both Houses of Parliament; without so much as
assigning him any part of his Own, towards the support of his own Person.

This stout invasion of the People's property, and compelling them to part with what was most precious to them, any part of their Estates, was thought by many an unpopular Act, in the morning of their Sovereignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new Subjects to them. But the Conductors well understood, that their Empire already depended more on the Fear, than Love of the People; and that as they could carry on the War only by having Money enough to pay the Soldiers, so, that whilst they had That, probably they should not want Men to recruit their Armies upon any misadventure.

It cannot be imagined, how great advantages the King received by the Parliament's rejecting the King's Messages for Peace, and their manner in doing it. All Men's mouths were opened against them, the Messages and Answers being read in all Churches; they who could not serve him in their Persons, contrived ways to supply him with Money. Some eminent Governors in the Universities gave him notice that all the Colleges were very plentifully supplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay useless in their Treasuries, there being enough besides for their Common Use; and there was not the least doubt, but that whenever his Majesty should think fit to require that Treasure, it would all be sent to him. Of this the

King had long thought, and, when he was at *Nottingham*, in that Melancholic season, two Gentlemen were despatched away to *Oxford*, and to *Cambridge* (two to each) with Letters to the several Vice-Chancellors, that they should move the Heads, and Principals of the several Colleges and Halls, that they would send their Plate to the King; private advertisements being first sent to some trusty Persons to prepare, and dispose those, without whose consent the service could not be performed.

This whole affair was transacted with so great secrecy and discretion, that the Messengers returned from the two Universities, in as short a time as such a Journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all their Plate, and a considerable Sum of Money, which was sent as a Present to his Majesty from several of the Heads of Colleges, out of their own particular Stores; some Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure Horses and Carts for the service; all which came safe to *Nottingham*, at the time when there appeared no more expectation of a Treaty, and contributed much to raising the dejected Spirits of the place. The Plate was presently weighed out, and delivered to the several Officers, who were intrusted to make Levies of Horse and Foot, and who received it as Money, the rest was carefully preserved to be carried with the King, when he should remove from thence; secret Orders being sent to the Officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majesty as soon as he should require them, which he meant to do, as soon as he should find him-

The two Universities contributed their Money and Plate to the King.

B O O K VI. self in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some Gentlemen undertook to make Levies upon their Credit, and Interest, and others sent Money to the King upon their own Inclinations.

There was a pleasant Story, then much spoken of in the Court, which administered some Mirth. There were two great Men who lived near *Nottingham*, both Men of great Fortunes and of great Parsimony, and known to have much Money lying by them. To the former the Lord *Capel* was sent, to the latter, *John Abshurnham* of the Bed-Chamber, and of entire confidence with his Master; each of them with a Letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thousand pounds. *Capel* was very civilly received by One, and entertained as well as the ill accommodation in his House, and his manner of living would admit. He expressed, with wonderful civil professions of duty, "the
" great trouble he sustained, in not being able to
" comply with his Majesty's Commands:" He said,
" all Men knew that he neither had, nor could have
" Money, because he had every year, of ten or a
" dozen which were past, purchased a thousand
" pounds Land a year; and therefore he could not
" be imagined to have any Money lying by him,
" which he never loved to have. But, he said, he
" had a Neighbour, who lived within few Miles
" of him, who was good for nothing, and lived
" like a Hog, not allowing himself Necessaries,
" and who could not have so little as twenty thou-
" sand pounds in the scurvy House in which he

“lived;” and advised, “he might be sent to, who
“could not deny the having of Money;” and concluded with great duty to the King, and detestation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to consider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get some Money for him, which though he did not remember to send, his affections were good, and he was afterwards killed in the King’s Service.

Ashburnham got no more Money, nor half so many good words. That Lord had so little correspondence with the Court, that he had never heard his Name, and when he had read the King’s Letter, he asked from whom it was; and when he told him, “he saw it was from the King, he replied, that he
“was not such a fool as to believe it. That he had
“received Letters both from the King and his
“Father;” and hastily running out of the Room, returned with half a dozen Letters in his hand; saying, “that those were all the King’s Letters, and
“that they always begun with *Right Trusty and*
“*Well beloved*, and the King’s Name was ever at the
“Top; but this Letter begun with his own Name,
“and ended with your loving friend *C. R.* which,
“he said, he was sure, could not be the King’s
“hand.” His other treatment was according to this, and after an ill Supper, he was showed an indifferent bed; the Lord telling him, “that he would confer
“more of the matter in the morning;” he having sent a Servant with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, who was his Wife’s Nephew, and who had scarce ever seen his Uncle. The Man came to *Nottingham* about Midnight, and found my Lord *Falkland* in

B O O K
VI.

his Bed. The Letter was to tell him, "that one
" *Ashburnham* was with him, who brought him a
" Letter, which he said was from the King; but he
" knew that could not be; and therefore he desired
" to know, who this Man was, whom he kept in
" his House till the Messenger should return." In
spite of the laughter, which could not be forbore,
the Lord *Falkland* made haste to inform him of the
Condition and Quality of the Person, and that the
Letter was writ with the King's own hand, which
he seldom vouchsafed to do. And the Messenger
returning early the next morning, his Lordship
treated Mr. *Ashburnham* with so different a respect,
that he, who knew nothing of the cause, believed,
that he should return with all the Money that was
desired. But it was not long before he was unde-
ceived. The Lord with as cheerful a Countenance
as His could be, for he had a very unusual and
unpleasant face, told him, "that though he had
" no Money Himself, but was in extreme want of
" it, he would tell him where he might have Money
" enough; that he had a Neighbour, who lived
" within four or five Miles, that never did good
" to any body, and loved no body but himself,
" who had a world of Money, and could furnish
" the King with as much as he had need of, and if
" he should deny that he had Money when the King
" sent to him, he knew were he had one Trunk
" full, and would discover it; and that he was so
" ill beloved and had so few friends, that no body
" would care how the King used him." This good
Counsel was all Mr. *Ashburnham* could make of him:

and yet this wretched Man so was far from wishing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevailed, and were possessed of the whole Kingdom, as well as of *Nottinghamshire*, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his Delinquency, as they made the having lived in the King's Quarters to be; but suffered his whole Estate to be sequestered, and lived in a very miserable fashion, only by what he could ravish from his Tenants; who, though they paid their Rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with so much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he chose to live in: His conscience being powerful enough to deny Himself, though it could not dispose him to grant to the King. And thus the two Messengers returned to the King, so near the same time, that he who came first, had not given his account to the King, before the other entered into his presence.

The same day, a Gentleman in those parts, known to be very rich, being pressed to lend the King five hundred pounds, sent him a present of one hundred pieces in Gold; which, "he said, he had procured with great difficulty; and protested, with many execrable imprecations, that he had never in his life seen five hundred pounds of his own together;" when, within one Month after the King's departure, the Parliament-Troops, which borrowed in another style, took five thousand pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the Chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mentioned in this place, that upon this occasion it may be

BOOK

VI.

seen, that the unthrifty retention of their Money, which possessed the spirits of those, who did really wish the King all the success he wished for himself, was one unhappy cause of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they found necessary to sacrifice to his Enemies, in the conclusion, to preserve themselves from total ruin, his Majesty had been able, with God's blessing, to have preserved Them, and to have destroyed all his Enemies.

The news of the important advantage before *Worcester* found the King at *Chester*, whither his Majesty thought necessary to make a Journey himself, as soon as he came to *Shrewsbury*, both to assure that City to his Service, which was the Key to *Ireland*, and to countenance the Lord *Strange*, (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of *Derby*) against some opposition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament. Here *Crane*, sent by Prince *Rupert*, gave his Majesty an Account of that Action; and presented him with the Ensigns, which had been taken; and informed him of the Earl of *Essex's* being in *Worcester*; which made the King return sooner to *Shrewsbury* than he intended, and before the Earl of *Derby* was possessed of that power, which a little longer stay would have given him.

Prince *Rupert* the same Night, after his Victory, finding the gross of the Rebels Army to be within five or six miles, against which that City was in no degree Tenable, though all the King's Foot had been there, retired from *Worcester* on the *Welsh*

side of the River, without any disturbance, into his Quarters near *Shrewsbury*, and with all his Prisoners, Colonel *Sandys* only excepted, whom he left to die of his wounds there; the Earl of *Essex* being so much startled with this late Defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being surely informed, that he should find no resistance, he entered with his Army into *Worcester*; using great severity to those Citizens, who had been Eminently inclined to the King's Service, and sending the principal of them Prisoners to *London*.

Upon the King's coming to *Shrewsbury*, there was a very great conflux of the Gentry there, and the Neighbouring Counties, which were generally well affected, and made great professions of Duty to his Majesty: some of them undertook to make Levies of Horse and Foot, and performed it at their own Charge. The Town was very Commodious in all respects, strong in it's Situation; and in respect of it's Neighbourhood to North-*Wales*, and the use of the *Severn*, yielded excellent Provisions of all kinds; so that both Court and Army were very well Accommodated, only the incurable disease of want of Money could not be assuaged in either. Yet whilst they sat still, it was not very sensible, much less importunate. The Soldiers behaved themselves orderly, and the People were not inclined, or provoked to complain of their new Guests; and the remainder of the Plate, which was brought from the Universities, together with the small presents in Money, which were made to the King by many particular Persons, supplied the present neces-

B O O K
VI.

The King
comes to
Shrewsbury.

B O O K VI. sary Expenses very conveniently. But it was easily discerned, that, when the Army should move, which the King resolved it should do with all possible Expedition, the necessity of Money would be very great, and the Train of Artillery, which is commonly a Sponge that can hardly be filled, was destitute of all things necessary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good Sum of Money were assigned to it; some Carriage-Horses, and Waggon, which were prepared for the Service of *Ireland*, and lay ready at *Chester*, to be transported with the Earl of *Leicester*, Lieutenant of that Kingdom, were brought to *Shrewsbury*, by his Majesty's Order, for his own Train: And the Earl's passionate laboring to prevent, or remedy that Application, with some other reasons, hindered the Earl himself from pursuing that Journey; and, in the end, deprived him of that Province. But this seasonable addition to the Train increased the necessity of Money, there being more use of it thereby.

Two Expedients were found to make such a competent provision for all wants, that they were at last broken through. Some Persons of that inclination had insinuated to the King, that, “if the Roman Catholics, which that, and the adjacent Counties were well inhabited by, were secretly treated with, a considerable Sum of Money might be raised among them; but it must be carried with great privacy, that no notice might be taken of it, the Parliament having declared so great Animosities against them;” nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King less that it should be very secret, to

avoid the scandal of a close conjunction with the Papists, which was every day imputed to Him. Upon many Consultations how, and in what method to carry on this Design, the King was informed, “that
“ if he would depute a Person, much trusted by
“ Him, to that Service, the Roman Catholics
“ would trust him, and assign one or two of their
“ Body to confer with him, and by this means the
“ work might be carried on.” Hereupon the King sent for that Person, and told him this whole matter, as it is here set down, and required him to consult with such a Person, whom he would send to him the next Morning. The next Morning a Person of Quality very much trusted by all that Party, came to him to confer upon that subject; and showed a list of the Names of all the Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune of that Religion, who were all Convict Recusants, and lived within those Counties of *Shropshire* and *Stafford*. They appeared to be a good Number of very valuable Men, on whose behalf he had only Authority to conclude, though he believed that the method, they agreed on there, would be submitted to, and confirmed by that Party in all other places. He said, “they would by no means hearken to any
“ motion for the Loan of Money, for which they
“ had paid so dear, upon their serving the King in
“ that manner, in his first Expedition against the
“ Scots.” It was in the end agreed upon, that the King should write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two, or three Years of such Rent, as they were every Year obliged to pay him, upon the composition they had made with him for their Estates; which would amount to a considerable Sum of

B O O K VI. Money. And these Letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days, between four and five thousand pounds were returned to his Majesty, which was a seasonable supply for his Affairs.

At his return to *Shrewsbury*, the King found as much done towards his March, as he expected. And then the other Expedient (which was hinted before) for Money offered itself. There was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, and of the best Estate of any Gentleman of that County, who lived within four or five miles of *Shrewsbury*, and was looked upon as a very prudent Man, and had a very powerful Influence upon that People, and was of undoubted Affections and Loyalty to the King, and to the Government both in Church, and State: his Eldest Son was a young Gentleman of great Expectation, and of excellent Parts, a Member of the House of Commons, who had behaved himself there very well. This Gentleman intimated to a friend of his, "That, if his Father might be made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevailed with, to present his Majesty with a good Sum of Money." It was proposed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the proposition, his Majesty taking occasion often to speak against "making Merchandize of Honor; how much the Crown suffered at present by the Licence of that kind, which had been used during the Favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and that he had not taken a firmer Resolution against many things, than against this particular Expedient for raising Money." However, after he returned from *Chester*, and found by the increase of his

Levies, and the good disposition all things were in, that he might in a short time be able to March, and in so good a Condition, that he should rather seek the Rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indispensable want of Money did not make his motion impossible; the Merit and Ability of the Person, and the fair expectation from his Posterity, he having two Sons, both very hopeful, prevailed with his Majesty to resume the same overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the Gentleman was made a Baron; who presented the Sum of six thousand pounds to his Majesty; whereupon all preparations for the Army were prosecuted with effect.

As soon as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, he had despatched his Letters and Agents into *Wales*, *Cheshire*, and *Lancashire*, to quicken the Levies of Men which were making there, and returned from *Chester* through the North part of *Wales*, (where he found the People Cordial to him, and Arming themselves for him) to *Shrewsbury*. The King's custom was in all Counties, through which he passed, to cause the High Sheriff to draw all the Gentleman, and the most substantial Inhabitants of those parts together, to whom (besides his Caressing the principal Gentlemen severally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always spoke something publicly (which was afterwards Printed) telling them,

“ That it was a benefit to him from the Insolencies
 “ and Misfortunes, which had driven him about,
 “ that they had brought him to so good a part of his
 “ Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of his People.
 “ He hoped, neither They, nor He should repent

The substance
 of the King's
 Speeches to
 the Gentry
 and Commu-
 nalty of the
 several Coun-
 ties.

B O O K
 VI.

B O O K

VI.

ties through
which he
passed.

“ their coming together. He would do His part ;
 “ that they might not ; and of Them he was confi-
 “ dent before he came . ” He told them , “ the Resi-
 “ dence , of an Army was not usually pleasant to any
 “ place ; and His might carry more fear with it ,
 “ since it might be thought (being robbed , and
 “ spoiled of all his own , and such Terror used to
 “ fright and keep all Men from supplying him) he
 “ must only live upon the Aid and Relief of his
 “ People . But he bid them not be afraid ; ” and
 said , “ he wished to God , his poor Subjects suffered
 “ no more by the Insolence , and Violence , of that
 “ Army raised against him , though they had made
 “ themselves wanton with Plenty , than they should
 “ do by His ; and yet he feared he should not be
 “ able to prevent all Disorders ; he would do his best ;
 “ and promised them , no Man should be a loser by
 “ him if he could help it . ” He said “ he had sent for
 “ a Mint , and would melt down all his own Plate ,
 “ and expose all his Land to Sale . or mortgage , that
 “ he might bring the least pressure upon them . ”
 However , he invited them “ to do that for him , and
 “ themselves , for the maintenance of their Religion ,
 “ and the Law of the Land (by which they enjoyed
 “ all that they had) which other Men did against
 “ them ; ” he desired them , “ not to suffer so good
 “ a Cause to be lost , for want of supplying him with
 “ that , which would be taken from them , by those
 “ who pursued his Majesty with that Violence . And
 “ whilst those ill Men sacrificed their Money , Plate
 “ and utmost Industry , to destroy the Common-
 “ wealth , They would be no less liberal to Preserve
 it .

“ it. He bid them assure themselves, if it pleased
 “ God to bless him with Success, he would re-
 “ member the Assistance every particular Man gave
 “ him to his advantage. However it would here-
 “ after (how furiously soever the minds of some
 “ Men were now possessed) be Honor and Comfort
 “ to them, that with some charge and trouble to
 “ themselves, they had done Their part to Support
 “ their King and Preserve the Kingdom.

His Majesty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the public, or their private concerns, might make impression upon that People, and gave clear Answers to them. With this gracious and Princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the People; so that not only his Army daily increased by Volunteers (for there was not a Men pressed) but such proportions of Plate, and Money, were voluntarily brought in, that the Army was fully and constantly paid: the King having erected a Mint at *Shrewsbury*, more for reputation than use (For, for want of Workmen, and Instruments, they could not Coin a thousand pounds a week) and causing all his own Plate, for the Service of his Household, to be delivered there, made other Men think, theirs was the less worth the preserving.

Shortly after the Earl of *Essex* came to *Worcester*, he sent a Gentleman (*Fleetwood*, the same who had afterwards so great power in the Army, but then a Trooper in his Guards) to *Shrewsbury*, without a Trumpet, or any other ceremony than a Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*; in which he said, “ he was ap-

B O O K
VI.

“ pointed by the Parliament, to cause a Petition,
“ then in his hands, to be presented to his Majesty;
“ and therefore desired his Lordship to know his Ma-
“ jesty’s pleasure, when he would be pleased to re-
“ ceive it from such Persons, as he should send over
“ with it.” The Earl of *Dorset* (by his Majesty’s
command, after it had been debated in Council
what Answer to return) sent him word in writing,
“ that the King had always been, and would be still
“ ready to receive any Petition from his two Houses
“ of Parliament; and if the Earl had any such to be
“ presented, if he sent it by any Persons, who stood
“ not Personallly accused by his Majesty of High-
“ Treason, and excepted specially in all offers of
“ Pardon made by him, the Persons who brought
“ it should be welcome; and the King would return
“ such an answer to it, as should be agreeable to
“ Honor, and Justice.” Whether this limitation as
to Messengers displeased them (as it was afterwards
said, that the Messengers appointed to have deli-
vered it were the Lord *Mandevil*, and Mr. *Hambden*,
who they thought, would have skill to make insu-
sions into many Persons then about his Majesty;
and the hopes of that access being barred by that limi-
tation, and exception, they would not sent any
other) or what other reason soever there was, the
King heard no more of this Petition, or any Address
of that Nature, till he found, by some new printed
Votes, and Declarations, “ that he was guilty of
“ the Privilege of Parliament, for having refused to
“ receive their Petition, except it were presented in
“ such a manner as He prescribed: Whereas They

“ alone were Judges in what manner, and by what
 “ Persons their own Petitions should be delivered,
 “ and he ought so to receive them.” So that Petition
 which is before set down in the very terms it passed
 both Houses, was never delivered to his Majesty.

There cannot be too often mention of the wonder-
 ful Providence of God, that from that low despised
 condition the King was in at *Nottingham*, after the
 setting up his Standard, he should be able to get
 Men, Money, or Arms, so that, within twenty
 days after his coming to *Shrewsbury*, he resolved to
 march, in despite of the Enemy, even towards
London; his Foot, by this time, consisting of about
 six thousand; and his Horse of two thousand; his
 Train in very good order, commanded by Sir *John*
Heydon. And though this strength was much inferior
 to the Enemy, yet as it was greater than any Man
 thought possible to be raised, so all thought it suffi-
 cient to encounter the Rebels. Besides that it was
 confidently believed (and not without some grounds,
 upon correspondence with some Officers in the other
 Army) that, as soon as the Armies came within any
 reasonable distance of each other, very many Soldiers
 would leave their Colors, and come to the King;
 which expectation was confirmed by divers Soldiers,
 who every day dropped in from those Forces; and,
 to make themselves welcome, told many Stories of
 their Fellows resolutions, whom they had left
 behind.

And this must be confessed, that either by the care
 and diligence of the Officers, or by the good inclina-
 tions, and temper of the Soldiers themselves, the

B O O K VI. Army was in so good order and discipline, that, during the King's stay at *Shrewsbury*, there was not any remarkable disorder; the Country being very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers, just and regardful to the Country. And by the free Loans, and Contributions of the Gentlemen, and Substantial Inhabitants, but especially by the assistance of the Nobility, who attended, the Army was so well paid, that there was not the least mutiny or discontent for want of pay; nor was there any cause; for they seldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

The greatest difficulty was to provide Arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful scarcity, the King being exceedingly disappointed in his expectation of Arms from *Holland*; a Vessel or two having been taken by his own Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; so that, except eight hundred musquets, five hundred pair of Pistols, and two hundred Swords, which came with the Powder, landed in *Yorkshire*, as is before mentioned, the King had none in his Magazine; so that he was compelled to begin at *Nottingham*, and so in all places as he passed, to borrow the Arms from the Trained-bands; which was done with so much wariness and caution (albeit it was known that those Arms would, being left in those hands, be employed against him, or at least be of no use to him) that it was done rather with their consent, than by any constraint, and always with the full approbation of their Commanders. And therefore in *Yorkshire*, and *Shropshire*, where the Gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, desired that the Arms

might still be left in the Country-Men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, sent the King such supplies of Arms, out of their own Armouries (which were very mean) so that by all those Means together, the Foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any Weapon but a Cudgel, were Armed with Musquets, and Bags for their Powder, and Pikes; but, in the whole Body, there was not a Pikeman had a Corset, and very few Musqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horse, the Officers had their full desire, if they were able to procure old Backs, and Breasts, and Pots with Pistols, or Carabines, for their two or three first Ranks, and Swords for the rest; themselves (and some Soldiers by their examples) having gotten besides their Pistols and Swords, a short Pole-Ax.

The Foot were divided into three Brigades; the first commanded by Sir *Nicholas Byron*, the second by Colonel *Harry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, Sir *Jacob Astley* being Major General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General. For, though General *Ruthen*, who came to the King some few days before he left *Shrewsbury*, was made Field-Marshal, yet he kept wholly with the Horse to assist Prince *Rupert*: And Sir *Arthur Aston*, of whose Soldiery there was a very great esteem, was made Colonel-General of the Dragoons; which at that time, though consisting of two or three Regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thousand at the most. Most of the Persons of Quality, except those whose attendance was near

B O O K the King's own Person, put themselves into the
VI. King's Troop of Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; and made indeed so gallant a Body, that, upon very modest computation, the Estate, and Revenue of that single Troop, it was thought, might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs, who then Voted in both Houses, under the name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made and maintained that War. Their Servants, under the command of Sir *William Killigrew*, made another full Troop, and always marched with their Lords and Masters.

The King
 having formed
 an Army,
 marches from
 Shrewsbury
 towards
 London.

In this equipage the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, on the 12th of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, never less baggage attending a Royal Army, there being not one Tent, and very few Waggon belonging to the whole Train; having in his whole Army not one Officer of the Field who was a Papist, except Sir *Arthur Aston*, if He were one; and very few common Soldiers of that Religion. However the Parliament, in all their Declarations, and their Clergy much more in their Sermons, assured the People, “that
 “the King's Army consisted only of Papists,” whilst themselves entertained all of that Religion, that they could get; and very many, both Officers and Soldiers, of that Religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believed, that That Army did desire Liberty of Conscience for all Religions, as some of the chief of them pretended, or that they desired to divide themselves for communication of Intelligence, and Interest. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that when the Committee of Parliament

appointed to advance the service upon the Proposition for Plate, and Horses, in the County of *Suffolk*, sent word to the House of Commons, “ that some
“ Papists offered, to lend Money upon those Pro-
“ positions, and desired advice whether they should
“ accept of it,” it was Answered, “ that if they
“ offered any considerable Sum, whereby it might
“ be conceived to proceed from a real affection to
“ the Parliament, and not out of Policy to bring
“ themselves within their Protection, and so to ex-
“ cuse their Delinquency, it should be accepted of.”

When the King was ready for his march, there was some difference of opinion which way he should take; many were of opinion that he should march towards *Worcester*, where the Earl of *Essex* still remained; those Counties were thought well affected to the King; where his Army would be supplied with provisions, and increased in Numbers; and that no time should be lost in coming to a battle; because the longer it was deferred, the stronger the Earl would grow, by the supplies which were every day sent to him from *London*; and he had store of Arms with him to supply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counselable to march directly towards *London*, it being morally sure, that the Earl of *Essex* would put himself in their way. The King had much confidence in his Horse (his Nephew Prince *Rupert* being in the head of them) which were fleshed by their success at *Worcester*; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the inclosures, where his Horse would have been less useful; whereas there were many open

B O O K
VI.

grounds near the other way, much fitter for an Engagement. And so, about the middle of *October*, the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, and quartered that night at *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from the other place, where there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army, which, appeared very cheerful; and thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham*, and *Killingworth*, a House of the King's, and a very noble Seat, where the King rested one day; where the Lord Chief Justice *Heath*, who was made Chief Justice for that purpose (*Bramston*, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, being, without any purpose of his disfavor, removed from that Office, because he stood bound by Recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accusation depending there against him) began to sit upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to attain the Earl of *Essex*, and many other Persons who were in Rebellion, of High-Treason.

Some days had passed without any notice of that Army; some reporting that it remained still at *Worcester*, others, that they were marched the direct way from thence towards *London*. But Intelligence came from *London*, “that very many Officers of
“ Name, and Command in the Parliament-Army,
“ had undergone that service with a full resolution
“ to come to the King as soon as they were within
“ any distance; and it was wished, that the King
“ would send a Proclamation into the Army itself,
“ and to offer pardon to all who would return to their
“ obedience.” A Proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumstances resolved upon, that a Herald should be sent to proclaim it in the Head of

the Earl's Army, when it should be drawn up in Battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and resolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of those formalities.

B O O K
VI.

When the whole Army marched together, there was quickly discovered an unhappy jealousy, and division between the principal Officers, which grew quickly into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horse. The Earl of *Lindsey* was General of the whole Army by his Commission, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince *Rupert* came to the King, which was after the Standard was set up, and received a Commission to be General of the Horse, which, all Men knew, was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but from the King himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the Horse from any dependance upon the General, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies motion, commanded the Lord *Falkland*, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince *Rupert*, what he should do, his Highness took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord *Falkland*, for giving him Orders. He could not have directed his passion against any Man, who would feel or regard it less. He told him, "that it was his office to signify what the King bid him; which he should always do; and that his Highness, in neglecting it, neglected the King;" who did neither the Prince, nor his own service any good, by complying in the beginning with his

Faction begun
in the King's
Army.

B O O K rough Nature. But the King was so indulgent to him,
VI. that he took his advice in all things relating to the Army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the Enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince *Rupert's* advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who preferred the order he had learned under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Harry*, with whom he had served at the same time, when the Earl of *Essex* and he, both of them, had Regiments. The reservedness of the Prince's Nature, and the little education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewise discouraged from applying themselves to Him; whilst some Officers of the Horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it; believing Their credit would be the greater with the Prince, and desiring that no other Person should have any credit with the King. So the War was scarce begun, when there appeared such Faction and Designs in the Army, which wise Men looked upon as a very evil Presage; and the inconveniencies, which flowed, from thence gave the King great trouble in a short time after.

The Earl of
 Essex marches
 after the King.

Within two days after the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Essex* moved from *Worcester* to attend him, with an Army far Superior in Number to the King's; the Horse and Foot being completely armed, and the Men very well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the King's Magazines) suitable to an Army set forth at the charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the

Name of General of the Horse, though that Command principally depended upon Sir *William Balfour*. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint-John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, and the Lords *Rochford*, and *Fielding* (whose Fathers, the Earls of *Dover*, and *Denbigh*, charged as Volunteers in the King's Guards of Horse) and many Gentlemen of Quality; but his Train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two Armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both marched the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appeared afterwards, neither Army knew where the other was.

The King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came, on *Saturday* the 22^d of *October*, to *Edgcot* a Village in *Northamptonshire*, within four Miles of *Banbury*, in which the Rebels had a Garrison. As soon as he came thither he called a Council of War, and having no Intelligence that the Earl of *Essex* was within any distance; it was resolved, “the King and the Army should rest in those Quarters the next day, only that Sir *Nicholas Byron* should march with his Brigade, and attempt the taking in of *Banbury*.” With this Resolution the Council Broke up, and all Men went to their Quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an Enemy. But that night, about twelve of the Clock, Prince *Rupert* sent the King word, “that the Body of the Rebels Army was within seven or eight Miles, and that the head Quarter was at a Village called *Keinton* on

B O O K
VI.

“ the Edge of *Warwickshire* ; and that it would be
“ in his Majesty’s power, if he thought fit, to fight
“ a Battle the next day ;” which his Majesty liked
well, and therefore immediately despatched Orders
to cross the design for *Banbury* , “ and that the
“ whole Army should draw to a Rendezvous on the
“ top of *Edge-Hill* ,” which was a high Hill about
two Miles from *Keinton* , where the head Quarter of
the Earl was, which had a clear prospect of all that
Valley.

The Battle
of Keinton
or Edgehill.

In the morning being *Sunday* the 23^d of *October* ,
when the Rebels were beginning their March (for
they suspected not the King’s Forces to be near)
they perceived a fair Body of Horse on the top of
that Hill, and easily concluded their march was not
then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly
surprised, having never had any other confidence
of their Men, than by the disparity they concluded
would be still between Their Numbers, and the
King’s, the which they found themselves now de-
ceived in. For two of their strongest and best Regi-
ments of Foot, and one Regiment of Horse, was
a day’s march behind with their Ammunition. So
that, though they were still superior in Number,
yet that difference was not so great as they promised
themselves. However it cannot be denied that the
Earl, with great dexterity, performed whatsoever
could be expected from a Wise General. He chose
that ground which best liked him. There was be-
tween the Hill and the Town a fair Campaign, save
that near the Town it was narrower, and on the
right hand some Hedges, and Inclosures: so that

there he placed Musqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left Wing he placed a Body of a thousand Horse, commanded by one *Ramsay* a Scotch-man; the Reserve of Horse, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of *Bedford*, General of their Horse, and Sir *William Balfour* with him. The General Himself was with the Foot, which were ordered as much to advantage as might be. And in this posture they stood from eight of the Clock in the morning.

On the other side, though Prince *Rupert* was early in the morning with the greatest part of the Horse on the top of the Hill, which gave the Enemy the first Alarm of the necessity of fighting, yet the Foot were quartered at so great a distance, that many Regiments marched seven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous: so that it was past one of the Clock, before the King's Forces marched down the Hill; the General himself alighted at the head of his own Regiment of Foot, his Son the Lord *Willoughby* being next to him, with the King's Regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard carried by Sir *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal. The King's right Wing of Horse was Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the left Wing by Mr. *Wilmot* Commissary General of the Horse, who was assisted by Sir *Arthur Aston* with most of the Dragoons, because that left Wing was opposed to the Enemies right, which had the shelter of some Hedges lined with Musqueteers: and the Reserve was committed to Sir *John Byron*, and consisted indeed only of his own Regi-

B O O K VI. ment. At the entrance into the Field, the King's Troop of Guard, either provoked by some unreasonable Scoffs among the Soldiery, or out of desire of Glory, or both, besought the King, "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his Person, and to charge in the Front among the Horse, the which his Majesty consented to." They desired Prince *Rupert* "to give them that honor which belonged to them;" who accordingly assigned them the first place; which, though they performed their parts with admirable Courage, may well be reckoned among the oversights of that day.

It was near three of the Clock in the afternoon, before the Battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "that the business should be deferred till the next day." But against that there were many objections, "the King's Numbers could not increase, the Enemies might;" for they had not only their Garrisons, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Banbury* within distance, but all that Country so devoted to them, that they had all Provisions brought to them, without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the People were so disaffected to the King's Party, that they had carried away, or hid all their Provisions, inso-much as there was neither Meat for Man, or Horse; and the very Smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compelled to shoe Horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or disaffection to the King's Cause, or his Person, though it is true, that

circuit in which this Battle was fought, being very much in the Interest of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brooke*, was the most eminently corrupted of any County in *England*; but by the reports, and insu-
sions which the other very diligent Party had wrought into the People's belief; "that the Cava-
" liers were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious dis-
" position, and that they committed all manner of
" cruelty upon the Inhabitants of those places where
" they came, of which, robbery was the least;" so
that the poor People thought there was no other
way to preserve their goods, than by hiding them
out of the way; which was confessed by them,
when they found how much that information had
wronged them, by making them so injurious to their
Friends. And therefore where the Army rested a
day they found much better entertainment at parting,
than when they came; for it will not be denied,
that there was no Person of Honor or Quality, who
paid not punctually and exactly for what they had;
and there was not the least violence or disorder
among the Common Soldiers in their march, which
escaped exemplary punishment, so that at *Bromicham*,
a Town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon
small Parties of the King's, and killed, or taken
them Prisoners, and sent them to *Coventry*, decla-
ring a more peremptory malice to his Majesty than
any other place, two Soldiers were executed, for
having taken some small trifle of no value out of a
House, whose owner was at that time in the Rebels
Army. So strict was the discipline in this Army;
when the other, without control, practised all the

B O O K VI. dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good Reputation behind them, was no Harbinger to provide for their better Reception in the next Quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to *Edge-hill*, that there were very many Companies of the Common Soldiers, who had scarce eaten Bread in eight-and-forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a Victory; and therefore the King gave the Word, though it was late, the Enemy keeping their ground to receive him without Advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the Battle. He had caused many Proclamations to be printed of Pardon to all those Soldiers who would lay down their Arms, which he resolved, as is said before, to have sent by a Herald to the Earl of *Essex*, and to have found ways to have scattered, and dispersed them in that Army, as soon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all Men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remembered; and when it was, the Proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right Wing of the King's Horse advanced to Charge the left Wing, which was the gross of the Enemy's Horse, Sir *Faithful Fortescue* (who, having his Fortune and Interest in *Ireland*, was come out of that Kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a Troop of Horse raised for him for that Service but as many other of those Forces were, so his Troop was

was likewise disposed into that Army, and he was now Major to Sir *William Waller*; He) with his whole Troop advanced from the gross of their Horse, and discharging all their Pistols on the ground, within little more than Carabine-shot of his own Body, presented Himself, and his Troop to Prince *Rupert*; and immediately, with his Highness, charged the Enemy. Whether this sudden Accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each Man looking upon his Companion with the same apprehension as upon the Enemy, or whether the terror of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse, or all together, with their own evil Consciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole Wing, having unskilfully discharged their Carabines and Pistols into the Air, wheeled about, the King's Horse charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying; and had the execution of them above two Miles.

The left Wing, commanded by Mr. *Wilmot*, had as good success, though they were to charge in worse ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with Musqueteers. But Sir *Arthur Aston*, with great Courage and Dexterity, beat off those Musqueteers with his Dragoons; and then the right Wing of their Horse was as easily routed and dispersed as their left, and those followed the Chase as furiously as the other. The Reserve seeing none of the Enemy's Horse left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to pursue those that fled; and could not be contained by their Com-

B O O K VI. manders; but with Spurs, and loose Rains followed the Chase, which their left Wing had led them. And by this means, whilst most Men thought the Victory unquestionable, the King was in danger of the same Fate which his Predecessor, *Henry the third*, had at the Battle of *Lewes* against his Barons; when his Son the Prince, having Routed their Horse, followed the Chase so far, that, before his return to the field, his Father was taken Prisoner; and so his Victory served only to make the Misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's Horse having thus left the Field, many of them only following the Execution, others intending the Spoil in the Town of *Keinton*, where all the Baggage was, and the Earl of *Essex's* own Coach, which was taken, and brought away; their Reserve, Commanded by Sir *William Balfour*, moved up and down the Field in good Order, and marching towards the King's Foot pretended to be Friends, till observing no Horse to be in readiness to Charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great Execution. Then was the General the Earl of *Lindsey*, in the head of his Regiment, being on Foot, shot in the Thigh; with which he fell, and was presently encompassed with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piously endeavouring the Rescue of his Father, taken Prisoner with him. Then was the Standard taken (Sir *Edmund Verney*, who bore it, being killed) but Rescued again by Captain *John Smith*, an Officer of the Lord *Grandison's* Regiment of Horse, and by him brought off. And if those Horse had bestirred themselves, they

might with little difficulty have destroyed, or taken B O O K
Prisoner the King Himself, and his two Sons, the VI.
Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, being with
fewer than one hundred Horse, and those without
Officer or Command, within half Musquet-shot of
that Body, before he suspected them to be Enemies.

When Prince *Rupert* returned from the Chase,
he found this great alteration in the Field, and his
Majesty himself with few Noblemen, and a small
Retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a
Day quite vanished. For though most of the Officers
of Horse were returned, and that part of the Field
covered again with the loose Troops, yet they
could not be persuaded, or drawn to Charge either
the Enemies Reserve of Horse, which alone kept
the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only
kept their ground. The Officers pretending, "that
" their Soldiers were so dispersed, that there were
" not ten of any Troop together; and the Soldiers,
" that their Horses were so tired, that they could
" not Charge." But the truth is, where many Sol-
diers of one Troop or Regiment were Rallied to-
gether, there the Officers were wanting; and where
the Officers were ready, there the Soldiers were
not together; and neither Officers, nor Soldiers
desired to move without those who properly be-
longed to them. Things had now so ill an aspect,
that many were of an opinion, that the King should
leave the Field, though it was not easy to advise
whither he should have gone; which if he had done,
he had left an absolute Victory to those, who even
at this time thought themselves overcome. But the

B O O K King was positive against this advice, well knowing,
VI. that as that Army was raised by his Person and Presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it Unprincely, to forsake Them who had forsaken all they had to serve Him: Besides, he observed the other side looked not as if they thought themselves Conquerors; for that Reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his Horse, betook themselves to a fixed station between their Foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two Brigades of the King's did with equal Courage, and gave equal Vollies; and therefore he tried all possible ways to get the Horse to charge again; easily discerning, by some little attempts which were made, what a notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the Enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt if either Party had known the constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and, very probably, which soever had made a bold offer, had compassed his end upon his Enemy. This made many believe, though the Horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done Their part, that the good fortune of the first part of the day, which well managed would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to their Enemy's want of Courage, than to their own Virtue (which after so great a Victory, could not so soon have forsaken them) and to the sudden and unexpected revolt of Sir *Faithful Fortescue* with a whole Troop, no doubt much to the consternation

of those he left; though they had not so good Fortune as they deserved; for by the negligence of not throwing away their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of *Essex's* colors, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddenly killed by those to whom they joined themselves.

In this doubt of all sides, the Night, the Common friend to wearied and dismayed Armies, parted them; and then the King caused his Cannon, which were nearest the Enemies, to be drawn off; and with his whole Forces himself spent the Night in the Field, by such a fire, as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolved what to do the next Morning; many reporting, "that the Enemy was gone;" but when the Day appeared, the contrary was discovered; for then they were seen standing in the same posture, and place in which they Fought, from whence the Earl of *Essex*, wisely never suffered them to stir all that Night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their Numbers would lessen, and that many would Run away; and therefore he caused all manner of Provisions, with which the Country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreshment, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that Night he received a great addition of strength, not only by Rallying those Horse, and Foot, which had Run out of the Field in the Battle, but by the arrival of Colonel *Hambden*, and

B O O K
VI.

Colonel *Grantham*, with two thousand fresh Foot (which were reckoned among the best of the Army) and five hundred Horse, which marched a Day behind the Army for the Guard of their Ammunition, and a great part of their Train, not supposing there would have been any Action that would have required their presence. All the advantage this seasonable Recruit brought them, was to give their old Men so much Courage as to keep the Field, which it was otherwise believed, they would hardly have been persuaded to have done. In the other Army, after a very cold Night spent in the Field, without any refreshment of Victual, or Provision for the Soldiers (for the Country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in Provisions, but Soldiers, who straggled into the Villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the Common People) The King found his Troops very thin; for though by Conference with the Officers, he might reasonably conclude, that there were not many slain in the Battle, yet a third part of his Foot were not upon the place, and of the Horse many missing; and they that were in the Field were so tired with duty, and weakened with want of Meat, and shrunk up with the cruel Cold of the Night (for it was a terrible Frost, and there was no shelter of either Tree or Hedge) that though they had reason to believe, by the standing still of the Enemy, whilst a small Party of the King's Horse, in the morning, took away four Pieces of their Cannon very near them, that any offer towards a Charge, or but Marching towards them, would have made a notable impres-

tion in them, yet there was so visible an averfeness from it in most Officers, as well as Soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his Men in Order, the Body of Horse facing the Enemy upon the Field where they had Fought.

Towards Noon the King Resolved to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and sent Sir *William le Neve*, Clarencieux King at Arms, to the Enemy, with his Proclamation of Pardon to such as would lay down Arms; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the Proclamation, that he should, by that means, receive some advertisement of the condition of the Army, and what Prisoners they had taken (for many Persons of Command and Quality were wanting) giving him order likewise to desire to speak with the Earl of *Lindsey*, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sir *William* came to the Army, he was received by the out Guards, and Conducted, with strictness (that he might say, or publish nothing among the Soldiers) to the Earl of *Essex*; who, when he offered to read the Proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him, with some roughness, and charged him, "as he loved his life, not to presume to speak a word to the Soldiers;" and after some few questions, sent him presently back well guarded through the Army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great and feeling a sense of the danger he had passed, that he made little Observation of the Posture or Numbers of the Enemy.

B O O K
VI.

Only he seemed to have seen, or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the Earl of *Essex*, and the principal Officers about him, and so much dejection in the Common Soldiers, that they looked like Men who had no farther Ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of *Lindsey*; who, being carried out of the Field a Prisoner, into a Barn of the next Village, for want of a Surgeon, and such Accommodations as were necessary, within fews hours died with the loss of blood, his wound not being otherwise Mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the Inhumanity of the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely neglected, or inhibited the performing any necessary Offices to him, out of the Insolence of his Nature, and in Revenge of some former unkindnesses, which had passed between them. But, I presume, it may be with more justice attributed to the hurry, and distraction of that season, when, being so unsecure of their Friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their Enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the Earl of *Lindsey* was taken Prisoner, the Earl of *Essex* thought himself in more danger; and among his faults want of Civility and Courtesy was none.

The Number of the slain, by the Testimony of the Ministers, and others of the next Parish, who took care of the Burying of the Dead, and which was the only Computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand; whereof two parts were conceived to be of those of the Parliament-Party, and not above a third part of the King's,

Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of Triumph appeared in either, that the Victory could scarce be imputed to the One or the Other. Yet the King's keeping the Field, and having the Spoil of it, by which many Persons of Quality, who had lain wounded in the Field were preserved, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the Battle, and succeeding in it (which shall be touched anon) were greater Ensigns of Victory on that side, than taking the General Prisoner, and the taking the Standard, which was likewise recovered, were on the Other. Of the King's the principal Persons, who were lost, were the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the Army, the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal of the King's Horse, and Standard-Bearer, and some others of less Name, though of great Virtue, and good Quality.

The Earl of *Lindsey* was a Man of very noble Extraction, and Inherited a great Fortune from his Ancestors; which, though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a Man of great Honor, and spent his Youth and Vigor of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of Life, yet he still preserved a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Interest in his Country, as appeared by the Supplies he, and his Son, brought to the King's Army; the several

A Character
of the Earl of
Lindsey,
the King's
General.

B O O K
VI.

Companies of his own Regiment of Foot, being Commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincolnshire*, who engaged themselves in the Service principally out of their Personal Affection to Him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the Commission granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion, in all matters relating to the War before His. Nor did he conceal his Resentment: the day before the Battle, he said to some Friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself as General; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of Battle should come, that he would be in the head of his Regiment as a private Colonel, where he would die." He was carried out of the Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved Mortal. And as soon as the other Army was composed by the coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Essex*, about midnight, sent Sir *William Balfour*, and some other Officers to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor House, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was sorry to see so many Gentlemen, some whereof were his old Friends, engaged in so foul a Rebellion;" and

principally directed his discourse to Sir *William Bal-
four*, whom he put in mind of “the great obligations
“he had to the King; how much his Majesty had
“disobliged the whole *English* Nation by putting
“him into the Command of the Tower, and that it
“was the most odious ingratitude in Him to make
“him that return.” He wished them to tell my
Lord *Essex*, “that he ought to cast himself at the
“King’s feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not
“speedily do, his Memory would be odious to the
“Nation;” and continued this kind of discourse
with so much vehemence, that the Officers by de-
grees withdrew themselves, and prevented the Visit
the Earl of *Essex* intended him, who only sent the
best Surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his
wounds he died before the morning, only upon the
loss of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very
few Enemies; and died generally lamented.

The Lord *Aubigny* was a Gentleman of great ho-
pes, of a gentle and winning disposition, and of
very clear Courage: he was killed in the first charge
with the Horse; where, there being so little resist-
ance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by
his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutch* man, and
had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he
received some reprehension from his Captain, which
he murmured at. His Body was brought off, and
buried at *Christ Church* in *Oxford*; his two younger
Brothers, the Lord *John* and the Lord *Bernard Stew-
art*, were in the same Battle, and were afterwards
both killed in the War, and his only Son is now Duke
of *Richmond*. Sir *Edmund Verney* hath been men-

BOOK VI. tioned before; he was a Person of great Honor and Courage, and lost his Life in that charge, when *Balfour*, with that Reserve of Horse, which had been so long undiscerned, broke into those Regiments; but his body was not found.

On the Parliament-Party that perished, the Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletnezo*, and *Charles Essex*, were of the best Quality. The last had been bred up a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, who afterwards, at his charge, preferred him to a Command in *Holland*; where he lived with very good reputation, and preserved the credit of his decayed Family; And as soon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this Command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his Patron, and out of pure kindness to the Person of the Earl, as many other Gentlemen did, engaged himself against the King without any malice or Rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and was esteemed the best and most expert Officer of the Army, and was killed by a Musquet-shot in the beginning of the Battle. The Lord *Saint-John* was eldest Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, and got himself so well beloved by the reputation of his Courtesy and Civility, which he expressed towards all Men, that though his parts of understanding were very ordinary at best, and his course of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedfordshire* and *Hertfordshire* to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threescore thousand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the Family was not

engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the Clamor of his debts growing importunate, some years before the Rebellion, he left the Kingdom and fled into *France*; leaving his vast debt to be paid by his Sureties, to the utter ruin of many Families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the House of Peers, his Father being then alive, upon an assurance "that by his presence" and liberty, which could by no other way be secured, means would he found out to pay his debts, and free so many worthy Persons from their engagements: Besides that the times being like to be troublesome the King might be sure of a faithful Servant, who would always advance his service in that House." But the King had very ill fortune in conferring those graces, nor was his service more passionately, and insolently opposed by any Men in that House than by those, who upon those professions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this Gentleman, from the first hour of his sitting in that House by the King's so extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one Vote for the King's Service, that received any opposition: and, as soon as it was in his power, he received a Commission with the first to Command a Troop of Horse against him, in which he behaved himself so ill, that he received some wounds in running away; and being taken Prisoner died before the next morning, without any other signs of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not intend to be against the King, but wished him all

B O O K
VI.

“happiness:” so great an influence the first seeds of his birth had upon his Nature, that how long soever they were concealed, and seemed even buried in a very different breeding and conversation, they sprung up, and bore the same fruit upon the first occasion. And it was an observation of that time, that the Men of most licentious lives, who appeared to be without any sense of Religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrained by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that Party, and pretended an impulse of Religion out of fear of Popery; and on the other side, very many Persons of Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had suffered under the imputation of Puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the Court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very approaches to Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends, and applied themselves with great Resolution, Courage, and Constancy to the King’s Service, and continued in it to the end, with all the disadvantages it was liable to.

Prisoners taken by the Enemy were, the Lord *Willoughby*, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his Father; Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and Sir *Edward Stradling*, both Colonels; and Sir *William Vavasour*, who commanded the King’s Regiment of Guards under the Lord *Willoughby*; and some other inferior Commanders. There were hurt, Sir *Jacob Astley*, and Sir *Nicholas Byron*, and more dangerously Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes

of life, but recovered to act a great part afterwards in the War; Sir *George Strode*, and some other Gentlemen who served among the Foot; for of the Horse there was not an Officer of Name, who received a Wound, the Lord *Aubigny* only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the Enemy make. Of the Rebels there were slain, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, Colonel *Charles Essex*, the Soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last Action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worse, over and above the Guilt of Rebellion, by his having sworn to the Queen of *Bohemia*, by whose intercession he procured leave from the Prince of *Orange* to go into *England*, “that he would never serve against the King:” And many others of obscure Names, though Officers of good Command. There were a good Number of their Officers, especially of Horse, taken Prisoners, but (save that some of them were Parliament-Men) of mean Quality in the world, except only Sir *William Essex* the Father of the Colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great Fortune, and his Son’s invitation, led him into that Company; where he was a private Captain of his Regiment.

When the Armies had thus only looked one upon another, the whole day, and it being discerned that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters, presuming (as it proved) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two Sons went to *Edgectot*, where he lay the night before the Battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied, and even

B O O K
VI.

tired men, and to be informed of the motion and condition of the Enemy, upon which some Troops of the King's Horse attended. The Earl of *Essex* retired with His to *Warwick-Castle*, whither he had sent all his Prisoners; so that, on the *Tuesday* morning, the King was informed, that the Enemy was gone, and that some of his Horse had attended the rear of the Enemy almost to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the Village next to the Field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haste, and not without apprehension.

After the Horse had marched almost to *Warwick*, and found the Coast clear from the Enemy, they returned to the Field to view the dead Bodies, many going to inquire after their Friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying stripped among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr. *Scroop* brought off his Father, Sir *Gervas Scroop*; who, being an old Gentleman of great fortune in *Linconshire*, had raised a Foot Company among his Tenants, and brought them into the Earl of *Lindsey's* Regiment out of devotion and respect to his Lordship, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fallen with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain stripped among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on *Sunday*, all that cold night, all *Monday*, and *Monday* night, and till *Tuesday* evening, for it was so late before his Son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to *Oxford*; where he wonderfully

fully recovered. The next morning after, being *Wednesday*, there was another Gentleman, one *Bellingham*, of an ancient extraction, and the only Son of his Father, found among the dead, and brought off by his Friends with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at *Oxford*, by the negligence of his Surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of itself not dangerous, undiscerned, and so by festering destroyed a body very hopefully recovered of those which were only thought Mortal. The Surgeons were of opinion, that both these Gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of those who stripped them, and to the coldness of the nights, which stopped their blood, better than all their skill and Medicaments could have done, and that if they had been brought off within any reasonable distance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly perished.

On *Wednesday* morning, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the Battle, very many of the Common-Soldiers out of cold, and hunger, had found their old Quarters. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered a strange cheerfulness into all Men, that there were not in that Battle lost above three hundred Men at most. There the King declared General *Ruthen* General of his Army in the place of the Earl of *Lindsey*; and then marched to *Ayno*, a little Village two miles distant from *Banbury*, of which his Majesty that day took a View, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in *Banbury-Castle* a Regiment of eight

VOL. V.

H

B O O K VI. hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horse, which, with Spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept so strong a place from an Army better prepared to have assaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a season of the year more commodious for a Siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King should have marched by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to stay there, besides the Courage of his Soldiers, who had again recovered their appetite to Action, was that he could not well resolve whither to go; for till he was informed what the Earl of *Essex* did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the Enemy advanced upon him, he could not Fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having sent a Trumpet to summon the Castle, and having first taken the Lord *Say's* House at *Broughton*, where there was some show of resistance, and in it a Troop of Horse, and some good Arms, the Cannon were planted against the Castle, and the Army drawn out before it; but, upon the first shot made, the Castle sent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their Arms, they fairly and kindly delivered the place; and half the Common-Soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the King's Army, the rest of the Arms came very seasonably to supply many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the Battle.

This last success declared where the Victory was before at *Edge-hill*; for, though the routing of their

Horse, the having killed more upon the place, and taken more Prisoners, the number of the Colors won from the Enemy (which were near forty in number) without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their Cannon the next morning after the Battle, were so many Arguments that the Victory inclined to the King: On the other side, the loss of the General himself, and so many Men of Name either killed or taken Prisoners, who were generally known over the Kingdom (whereas, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, and Colonel *Essex*, the names of the rest of that Party were so obscure, that neither the one side seemed to be gainers by having taken or killed them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them) the having kept the Field last, were sufficient Testimonies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the Army's being, before the Battle, designed for that service, then recalled to the Field, and after that Field fought, and the Retreat of the Enemy, the Re-advancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Essex* was more broken and scattered than at first he appeared to be, that the King's Army was looked upon as Victorious. A Garrison was put into *Banbury*, and the Command thereof committed to the Earl of *Northampton*, and then the King marched to his own House at *Woodstock*; and the next day with the whole Army to *Oxford*, which was the only City of *England*, that he could say was entirely at his devotion; where he was received by the University, to

B O O K

VI.

The condition
of the Earl of
Essex's Army
after the Fight.

whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed, with all joy and acclamation.

The Earl of *Essex* continued still at *Warwick*, repairing his broken Regiments and Troops, which every day lessened and impaired; for the number of his slain Men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many killed in the chase, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of those, who run away in the beginning, more staid away than returned; and which was more, they who run farthest and fastest told such lamentable Stories of the defeat, and many of them showed such hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the People revolt to their Allegiance in all places. Many of those who had stood their ground, and behaved themselves well in the Battle, either with remorse of Conscience, horror of what they had done, and seen, or weariness of the duty and danger, withdrew themselves from their Colors, and some from their Commands. And it is certain many engaged themselves first in that service, out of an opinion, that an Army would procure a Peace without Fighting; others out of a desire to serve the King, and resolving to go away themselves, and to carry others with them, as soon as they should find themselves within a secure distance to do it; both these being, contrary to their expectation, brought to Fight, the latter, not knowing how to get to the King's Army in the Battle; discharged themselves of the Service, as soon as they came to *Warwick*; some with leave, and some without. But that which no doubt most troubled his Excellency was the temper,

and constitutions of his new Masters; who, he knew, expected no less from him than a Victory complete, by his bringing the Person of the King alive or dead to them; and would consider what was now fallen out, as it was so much less than they looked for, not as it was more than any body else could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, and made as if his stay at *Warwick* were rather to receive new Orders and Commands from them, than out of any weakness or inability to pursue the old, and that he attended the King's motions as well as if he had been within seven miles of him.

It is certain the consternation was very great at *London*, and in the two Houses, from the time that they heard, that the King marched from *Shrewsbury* with a formed Army, and that he was resolved to Fight, as soon as he could meet with theirs. However they endeavoured to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the Common-People, that the King did not Command, but was carried about in that Army of the Cavaliers, and was desirous to escape from them; which they hoped the Earl of *Essex* would give him opportunity to do. The first news they heard of the Armies being engaged, was by those who fled upon the first charge; who made marvellous haste from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe, till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. It is certain, though it was past two of the Clock before the Battle begun, many of the Soldiers, and some Commanders of no mean Name, were at *St. Albans*, which was

B O O K near thirty miles from the Field, before it was dark.
VI. These Men, as all Runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the King's Army to be so terrible, that it could not be encountered. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported the progress of the Battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances by which every part of the Army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the Earl of *Essex* slain, and heard his dying words; "That every one should shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose;" So that the whole City was, the *Monday*, full of the defeat; and though there was an express, from the Earl of *Essex* himself, of the contrary, there was not Courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last. *Monday* in the afternoon, the Earl of *Holland* produced a Letter in the House of Peers, which was written the night before by the Earl of *Essex*, in which all particulars of the day were set down, and "the impression which had in the beginning been made upon his Horse, but that the conclusion was prosperous." Whilst this was reading, and every Man greedily digesting the good news, the Lord *Hastings*, who had a Command of Horse in the service, entered the House with frightened and ghastly looks, and positively declared "all to be lost, against whatsoever they believed or flattered themselves with." And though it was evident enough that he had run away from

the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most Men looked upon him as the last Messenger, and even shut their ears against any possible comfort; so that without doubt very many, in the horror and consternation of eight-and-forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes, and insolence of three Months before. At the last, on *Wednesday* morning, the Lord *Wharton*, and Mr. *William Strode*, the one a Member of the House of Lords, the other of the Commons, arrived from the Army, and made so full a relation of the Battle, “of the great Numbers slain on the King’s part, without any considerable loss on Their side, “of the miserable and weak condition the King’s Army was in, and of the Earl of *Essex*’s resolution “to pursue him,” That they were not now content to be saviors, but Voted “that their Army had the “Victory;” and appointed a day for a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the same; and that so great a joy might not be enjoyed only within those Walls, they appointed those two trusty Messengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumstances to the City; which was convened together at the *Guild-Hall* to receive the same. But by this time, so many Persons, who were present at the Action, came to the Town of both sides (for there was yet a free intercourse with all Quarters) and some discourses were published, how little either of these two Messengers had seen themselves of that day’s business, that the City seemed not so much exalted at their Relations, as the Houses had been; the King’s taking *Banbury*, and marching afterwards to

B O O K VI. *Oxford*, and the reports from those parts of his power, with the Earl of *Essex*'s lying still at *Warwick*, gave great Argument of discourse ; which grew the greater by the commitment of several Persons, for reporting "that the King had the better of the Field ;" which Men thought would not have been, if the success had been contrary ; and therefore there was nothing so generally spoken of, or wished for, as Peace.

They who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning opposed all the extravagances, for of such there were many in both Houses, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, spake now aloud, "that a humble Address to the King for the removal of all misunderstandings, was both in Duty necessary, and in Policy convenient." The half-hearted, and half-witted People, which made much the Major part of both Houses, plainly discerned there must be a War, and that the King at least would be able to make resistance, which they had been promised he could not do, and so were equally passionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the mischief, and already had digested a full change and alteration of Government, and knew well, that all their Arts would be discovered, and their Persons odious, though they might be secured, violently opposed all motions of this kind. These Men pressed earnestly "to send an express to their Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite, and conjure them to come to their Assistance, and to leave no way unthought of, for suppressing, and

“ totally destroying all those who had presumed to
“ side with the King. ” This overture of calling the
Scots in again was as Unpopular a thing, as could
be mentioned; besides that it implied a great, and
absolute diffidence in their own strength, and an
acknowledgment that the People of *England* stood
not so generally affected to their desires, which they
had hitherto published, and urged, as the best Ar-
gument to justify those desires. Therefore the wise
Managers of that Party, by whose conduct they had
been principally governed, seemed fully to concur
with those who desired Peace, “ and to send a
“ humble Address to the King, which they con-
“ fessed to be due from them as Subjects, and the
“ only way to procure happiness for the Kingdom. ”
And having hereby rendered themselves gracious,
and gained credit, they advised them “ so to endea-
“ vour Peace, that they might not be disappointed
“ of it, ” and wished them “ to consider that the
“ King’s Party were high upon the success of having
“ an Army (of which they had reasonably before
“ despaired) though not upon any thing that Army
“ had yet done. That it was apparent, the King had
“ Ministers stirring for him in the North, and in the
“ West, though hitherto with little effect; and there-
“ fore if they should make such an Application for
“ Peace, as might imply the giving over the
“ thoughts of War, they must expect such a Peace,
“ as the mercy of those whom they had provoked
“ would consent to. But if they would steadily
“ pursue those Counsels as would make their strength
“ formidable, they might then expect such mo-

B O O K

VI.

“ derate conditions, as they might, with their Own,
 “ and the Kingdom’s Safety, securely submit to.
 “ That therefore the Proposition of sending into
 “ *Scotland* was very seasonable; not that it could be
 “ hoped, or was desired, that they should bring
 “ an Army into *England*, of which there was not
 “ like to be any need; but that That Kingdom might
 “ make such a Declaration of their Affections, and
 “ readiness to assist the Parliament, that the King
 “ might look upon them with the more considera-
 “ tion, as a Body not easily to be oppressed, if he
 “ should insist upon too high Conditions.

By this Artifice, whilst they who pressed a Treaty thought, that That being once consented to, a Peace would inevitably be concluded, the same day that a Committee was appointed “ to prepare Heads of a
 “ humble Address unto his Majesty, for composing
 “ the present Differences, and Distractions, and
 “ settling the Peace of the Kingdom (which was a great condescension) they made no scruple to declare, “ that the preparations of Forces, and all
 “ other necessary means for defence, should be prosecuted with all Vigor;” and thereupon required
 “ all those Officers and Soldiers, who had left their
 “ General, of which the Town was then full, upon
 “ pain of Death, to return to him;” and for his better recruit, solemnly declared, “ that in such times
 “ of Common danger and necessity, the Interest of
 “ Private Persons, ought to give way to the Public;
 “ and therefore they ordained, that such Appren-
 “ tices, as would be Listed to serve as Soldiers for
 “ the defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and

Apprentices
 invited by the
 Parliament to
 take Arms.

“ City (with their other usual expressions of Religion, and the King's Person) their Sureties, and such as stood engaged for them, should be secured against their Masters; and that their Masters should receive them again, at the end of their Service, without imputing any loss of time to them, but the same should be reckoned as well spent, according to their Indentures, as if they had been still in their Shops.” And by this means many Children were engaged in that Service, not only against the Consent, but against the Persons of their Fathers, and the Earl received a notable supply thereby.

Then, in return for their Consent that a formal, and perfunctory Message should be send to his Majesty, whereby they thought a Treaty would be entered upon, they procured at the same time, and as an Expedient for Peace, this material and full Declaration of both Houses to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they caused with all expedition to be sent into that Kingdom.

“ We the Lords and Commons, assembled in the Parliament of *England*, considering with what Wisdom, and public Affection, Our brethren of the Kingdom of *Scotland* did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, and the desires of the whole Kingdom in procuring, and establishing a firm Peace and Amity between the two Nations, and how lovingly they have since invited Us to a nearer, and higher degree of Union in matters concerning Religion, and Church-Government, which We have most willingly and affectionately

The two
Houses Declaration to the
Subjects of
Scotland.

B O O K VI. “ embraced, and intend to pursue, cannot doubt but
“ they will, with as much forwardness and affection,
“ concur with Us in settling Peace in this Kingdom,
“ and preserving it in their Own; that so We may
“ mutually reap the benefit of that Amity and
“ Alliance, so happily made, and strongly con-
“ firmed betwixt the two Nations. Wherefore, as
“ We did about a year since, in the first appearance
“ of trouble then beginning among them, actually
“ declare, that in our sense and apprehension of the
“ National Alliance betwixt Us, We were thereby
“ bound to apply the Authority of Parliament, and
“ Power of this Kingdom to the preservation, and
“ maintenance of their Peace: And, seeing now
“ that the troubles of this Kingdom are grown to a
“ greater height, and the subtle practices of the
“ Common Enemies of the Religion, and Liberty
“ of both Nations, do appear with more evident
“ strength, and danger than they did at that time,
“ We hold it necessary to declare, that, in our
“ judgment, the same obligation lies upon Our
“ Brethren, by the afore-mentioned Act, with the
“ Power and Force of that Kingdom, to assist Us in
“ repressing those among Us, who are now in Arms,
“ and make War, not only without consent of Par-
“ liament, but even against the Parliament, and for
“ the destruction thereof.
“ Wherefore We have thought good to make
“ known unto Our Brethren, that his Majesty hath
“ given Commission to divers eminent and known
“ Papists, to raise Forces, and to compose an Army
“ in the North, and other parts of this Kingdom,

“ which is to join with divers Foreign Forces, B O O K
“ intended to be transported from beyond the Seas, VI.
“ for the destruction of this Parliament, and of the
“ Religion, and Liberty of the Kingdom: and that
“ the principal part of the Clergy and their adhe-
“ rents, have likewise invited his Majesty to raise
“ another Army, which, in his own Person, he
“ doth Conduct against the Parliament, and the
“ City of *London*, Plundering and Robbing sundry
“ well affected Towns within their power; and in
“ prosecution of their malice, they were so pre-
“ sumptuous, and predominant of his Majesty’s
“ Resolutions, that they forbear not those Outrages
“ in places to which his Majesty hath given his
“ Royal Word and Protection; a great cause and
“ incentive of which malice, proceeds from the
“ design they have to hinder the Reformation of
“ Ecclesiastical Government in this Kingdom, so
“ much longed for by all the true Lovers of the
“ Protestant Religion.

“ And hereupon We farther desire Our Brethren
“ of the Nation of *Scotland*, to raise such Forces as
“ they shall think sufficient for securing the Peace
“ of their own Borders, against the ill affected Per-
“ sons there, as likewise to assist Us in suppressing
“ the Army of Papists, and Foreigners; which, as
“ We expect, will shortly be on foot here, and if
“ they be not timely prevented may prove as mis-
“ chievous, and destructive to that Kingdom, as to
“ ourselves. And though We seek nothing from
“ his Majesty that may diminish his just Authority,
“ or Honor, and have, by many humble Petitions,

B O O K

VI.

“ endeavoured to put an end to this unnatural War
 “ and Combustion in the Kingdom, and to procure
 “ his Majesty’s Protection, and Security for our
 “ Religion, Liberty, and Persons (according to that
 “ great Trust which his Majesty is bound to by the
 “ Laws of the Land) and shall still continue to renew
 “ our Petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief,
 “ We see the Papistical and Malignant Council so
 “ prevalent with his Majesty, and his Person so
 “ engaged to their power, that We have little hope
 “ or better success of our Petitions than We for-
 “ merly had; and are thereby necessitated to stand
 “ upon our just Defence, and to seek this speedy
 “ and powerful Assistance of Our Brethren of Scot-
 “ land, according to that Act agreed upon in the
 “ Parliament of both Kingdoms, the Common Duty
 “ of Christianity, and the particular Interests of
 “ their own Kingdom: To which We hope God
 “ will give such a Blessing, that it may produce
 “ the preservation of Religion, the Honor, Safety,
 “ and Peace of his Majesty, and all his Subjects,
 “ and a more strict conjunction of the Counsels,
 “ Designs, and Endeavours of both Nations, for
 “ the comfort and relief of the Reformed Churches
 “ beyond Sea.”

The condi-
 tion, and in-
 clinations of
 the Kingdom
 of Scotland
 at that time.

It will not be here unseasonable to take some short
 Survey of the Affections and Inclinations of Scot-
 land; the ordering and well disposing whereof,
 either side sufficiently understood, would be of mo-
 ment, and extraordinary importance in the growing
 Contention. From the time of the King’s being last
 there, when he had so fully complied with all they

had desired, both for the public Government, and their private Advancements, that Kingdom within itself enjoyed as much Quiet and Tranquillity as they could desire; having the convenience of disburdening themselves of their late Army into *Ireland*, whither their old General *Leslie*, then made Earl of *Leven*, was employed in his full Command by the King and the two Houses, at the charge of *England*. So that many believed they had been so abundantly satisfied with what they had already gotten from *England*, that they had no farther projects upon this Kingdom, but meant to make their Fortunes by a new Conquest in *Ireland*, where they had a very great part of the Province of *Ulster* planted by their own Nation. So that, according to their rules of good Husbandry, they might expect whatsoever they got from the Rebels to keep for Themselves. And the King himself was so confident that the Affections of that People could not be so corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believed them, to a degree, sensible of their former breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any service. *Leslie* himself had made great acknowledgments, and great professions to him, and had told him, “that it was nothing to promise him, “that he would never more bear Arms against him, “but he promised he would Serve his Majesty upon “any Summons without asking the cause.” The Earl of *Lowden*, and all the rest, who had misled the People, were possessed of whatsoever they could desire, and the future Fortune of That Nation seemed to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King’s full power in This.

BOOK
VI.

His Majesty had, from time to time, given his Council of that Kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully sent them the Declarations, and public Passages of both sides, and they had always returned very ample expressions of their Affections and Duty, and expressed a great sense of the Parliament's proceedings towards him. And since the time of his being at *York*, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in whose Integrity and Loyalty he was least secure, had been with him; and seemed so well satisfied with the Justice and Honor of his Majesty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the *Scottish* Commissioners at *London*, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the secret Council of that Kingdom, "that they should present to the two Houses the
" deep sense they had of the Injuries and Indignities,
" which were offered to the King, whose just
" Rights they were bound to defend; and that they
" should conjure them, to bind up those wounds
" which were made, and not to widen them by
" sharpness of Language; and to give his Majesty
" such real security for his safety among them, by
" an effectual declaring against Tumults, and such
" other Actions as were justly offensive to his Majesty, that he might be induced to reside nearer
" to them, and comply with them in such Propositions as should be reasonably made;" with many such expressions, as together with his return into *Scotland* without coming to *London*, where he was expected, gave them so much offence and jealousy, that they never communicated that Letter to the Houses,

Houses, and took all possible care to conceal it from the People.

B O O K

VI.

The Marquis *Hamilton* had been likewise with his Majesty at *York*, and, finding the Eyes of all Men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offered the King to go into *Scotland*, with many Assurances and Undertakings, confident “that he would at least keep that People from doing any thing, that might seem to countenance the carriage of the Parliament.” Upon which promises, and to be rid of him at *York*, where he was by all Men looked upon with marvellous prejudice, the King suffered him to go, with full Assurance that he would, and he was sure he could, do him very good service there: as, on the other side, in his own Court he was so great an offence, that the whole Gentry of *Yorkshire*, who no doubt had insinuations to that purpose from others, had a design to have petitioned the King, that the Marquis might be sequestered from all Councils, and presence at Court, as a Man too much trusted by them who would not trust his Majesty.

Lastly, the King had many of the Nobility of *Scotland* then attending, and among those the Earl of *Calander*, who had been Lieutenant General of the *Scottish* Army, when it invaded *England*, and had freely confessed to his Majesty, upon what errors and mistakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended so deep a sense of what he had done amiss, that it was believed, he would have taken Command in the King's Army; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him

B O O K VI. in *Scotland* by some clause in the Act of the Pacification, but especially upon pretence it would disable him from doing him greater service in that Kingdom; whither, shortly after the Standard was set up, he repaired, with all solemn Vows of asserting, and improving his Majesty's Interest in those parts.

The Parliament on the other hand assured themselves, that That Nation was entirely Theirs, having their Commissioners residing with them at *London*; and the chief Managers and Governors in the first War, by their late intercourse, and communication of Guilt, having a firm correspondence with the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earl of *Lowden*, and that Party, who being not able to excuse themselves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it should be in his power to bring them to justice. And they undertook that when there should be need of that Nation (which the other thought there would never be) they should be as forward to second them as They had been; in the mean time returned as fair, and respective Answers to all their Messages, and upon their Declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the King; assisting them in their design against the Church, which was not yet grown Popular even in the two Houses, by declaring "that the People of that Nation could never be engaged on any other ground, than the Reformation of Religion." And therefore, about the beginning of *August*, the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* published a Declaration; "how exceedingly grieved they were, and made heavy, that in so long a time, against the

“ professions both of King and Parliament, and
“ contrary to the joint desires and prayers of the
“ Godly in both Kingdoms, to whom it was more
“ dear and precious, than what was dearest to them in
“ the world, the Reformation of Religion had moved
“ so slowly, and suffered so great interruption.”

The ground of which reproach was this; in the late Treaty of Peace, the Commissioners for *Scotland* had expressed a desire or wish warily couched in words, rather than a Proposition, “ that there were
“ such an Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of
“ Church - Government agreed on, as might be a
“ special means for conserving of Peace betwixt the
“ two Kingdoms:” To which there had been a general inclination to return a rough Answer, and reproof for their intermeddling in any thing that related to the Laws of *England*. But, by the extraordinary industry, and subtlety of those, who saw that business was not yet ripe, and who alledged, that it was only wished, not proposed, and therefore that a sharp reply was not merited, this gentle Answer, against the minds of very many, was returned.

“ That his Majesty, with the advice of both
“ Houses of Parliament, did approve of the Affec-
“ tion of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their desire
“ of having Conformity of Church-Government
“ between the two Nations; and as the Parliament
“ had already taken into consideration the Refor-
“ mation of Church-Government, so they would
“ proceed therein in the due time, as should best

B O O K
VI.

“ conduce to the glory of God, the Peace of the
“ Church, and of both Kingdoms.”

Which was consented to by most, as a civil Answer, signifying, or concluding nothing; by others, because it admitted an interpretation of reducing the Government of the Church in *Scotland* to this of *England*, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well discerned, that those Men asked nothing without a farther design than the words naturally imported, nor ever rested satisfied with a general formal Answer, except they found, that they should hereafter make use, and receive benefit by such Answer. So they now urged the matter of this Answer, as a sufficient Title to demand the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*, and demolishing the whole Fabric of that glorious Church; urging his Majesty's late practice, while he was in Person in *Scotland*, in resorting frequently to their exercises of public Worship; and his Royal Actions, in establishing the Worship and Government of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they desired the Parliament “ to begin their work of Reformation at
“ the Uniformity of Kirk-Government; for that
“ there could be no hope of Unity in Religion, of
“ one Confession of Faith, one Form of Worship,
“ and one Catechism, till there were first one Form
“ of Church-Government; and that the Kingdom,
“ and Kirk of *Scotland*, could have no hope of a
“ firm and durable Peace, till Prelacy, which had
“ been the main cause of their miseries and troubles,
“ first and last, were plucked up root and branch,
“ as a plant which God had not planted, and from

“ which no better fruits could be expected, than
“ such four Grapes, as at that day set on edge the
“ Kingdom of *England*.”

B O O K

VI.

Which Declaration the Lords of the secret Council, finding, as they said, “ the reasons therein expressed to be very pregnant, and the particulars desired, much to conduce to the glory of God, the advancement of the true Christian Faith, his Majesty’s Honor, and the Peace, and Union of his Dominions, well approved of;” and concurred in their earnest desires to the two Houses of Parliament, “ to take to their serious considerations those particulars, and to give favorable hearing to such desires and overtures, as should be found most conducive to the promoting so great, and so good a work.”

This being sent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their Army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confusion of the Church, insinuated “ how necessary it was, speedily to return a very affectionate, and satisfactory reply to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; not only to preserve the reputation of unity, and consent between them, which, at that time, was very useful to them, but to hinder the operations of the disaffected in that Kingdom; who, upon insinuations that the Parliament only aimed at taking his Majesty’s Regal rights from him, to the prejudice of Monarchic Government, without any thought of reforming Religion, endeavoured to pervert the Affections of that People towards

B O O K

VI,

“ the Parliament. Whereas if they were once assured
“ there was a purpose to reform Religion, they
“ should be sure to have their Hearts; and if occa-
“ sion required, their Hands too; which possibly
“ might be seduced for the King, if that purpose
“ were not manifested. Therefore, for the present,
“ they should do well to return their hearty thanks
“ for, and their Brotherly acceptance and appro-
“ bation of the desires, and advice of that Christian
“ Assembly, and of the Lords of the Council; and
“ that though, for the present, by reason of the
“ King’s distance from the Parliament, they could
“ not settle any conclusion in that matter, yet for
“ Their parts they were resolved to endeavour it.”

By this Artifice and Invention, they procured a Declaration from the two Houses of Parliament, of wonderful kindness, and confession of many inconveniencies, and mischiefs the Kingdom had sustained by Bishops; and therefore they declared,
“ that That Hierarchical Government was evil,
“ and justly offensive, and burdensome to the
“ Kingdom; a great impediment to Reformation,
“ and growth of Religion; very prejudicial to the
“ State and Government of the Kingdom; and that
“ they were resolved, that the same should be taken
“ away; and that their purpose was to consult with
“ Godly, and Learned Divines, that they might
“ not only remove That, but settle such a Govern-
“ ment, as might be most agreeable to God’s holy
“ word; most apt to procure, and conserve the
“ Peace of the Church at home, and happy Union
“ with the Church of *Scotland*, and other Reformed

“ Churches abroad; and to establish the same by a
“ Law, which they intended to frame for that
“ purpose, to be presented to his Majesty for his
“ Royal Assent; and in the mean time to beseech
“ him, that a Bill for the Assembly might be passed
“ in time convenient for their meeting;” the two
Houses having extrajudicially and extravagantly
nominated their own Divines to that purpose, as is
before remembered.

It was then believed by many, and the King was
persuaded to believe the same, that all those Im-
portunities from *Scotland* concerning the Govern-
ment of the Church, were used only to preserve
themselves from being pressed by the Parliament,
to join with them against the King; imagining
that this Kingdom would never have consented to
such an alteration; and they again pretending,
that no other obligation could unite that People in
their Service. But it is most certain, this last De-
claration was procured by persuading Men, “ that
“ it was for the present necessary, and that it was
“ only an Engagement to do their best to persuade
“ his Majesty, who they concluded would be in-
“ exorable in the point” (which they seemed not
to be sorry for) “ and that a receding from such a
“ conclusion would be a means to gratify his Ma-
“ jesty in a Treaty.” At worst, they all knew,
that there would be room enough, when any Bill
should be brought in, to oppose what they had,
for this reason of State, seemed generally to con-
sent to. And so by these Stratagems, thinking to
be too hard for each other, they grew all so

B O O K entangled, that they still wound themselves deeper
VI. into those Labyrinths, in which the Major part
 meant not to be involved. And what effect that
 Declaration of the two Houses, after the Battle
 of *Edge-hill*, which is mentioned before, wrought,
 will very shortly appear.

The King at
 Oxford re-
 cruits his
 Army.

The King found himself in good ease at *Oxford*, where care was taken for providing for the sick, and wounded Soldiers, and for the Accommodation of the Army, which was, in a short time, recruited there in a good measure; and the several Colleges presented his Majesty with all the Money they had in their Treasuries, which amounted to a good Sum, and was a very seasonable supply, as they had formerly sent him all their Plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his resolution of sitting still during the Winter, without making farther attempts; for his Reputation was now great, and his Army believed to be much greater than it was, by the Victory they had obtained, and the Parliament grew more divided into Factions, and dislike of what they had done, and the City appeared fuller of discontent, and less inclined to be imposed upon than they had been: so that on all hands nothing was pressed, but that some address might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and disposition might have been cultivated, as many Men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to *London*, to show them how little cause they had for their great fear. But the Weather growing fair again, as it often is about *Allhallowtide*,

and a good party of Horse having been sent out from *Abingdon*, where the head Quarter of the Horse was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to *Reading*, where *Harry Martin* was Governor for the Parliament, there was a great terror seized upon them, insomuch as Governor and Garrison fled to *London*, and left the place to the party of Horse; which gave advertisement to the King, “that all fled before them; that “the Earl of *Essex* remained still at *Warwick*, having “no Army to March; and that there was so great “divisions in the Parliament, that, upon his Majesty’s approach, they would all fly; and that “nothing could interrupt him from going to *White-Hall*. However *Reading* itself was so good a Post, “that if the King should find it necessary to make his “own Residence in *Oxford*, it would be much the “better by having a Garrison at *Reading*.”

B O O K
VI.
The Garrison
of the Parlia-
ment at Read-
ing quitting
it, the King
marches
thither.

Upon these and other motives, besides the natural credulity in Men, in believing all they wished to be true, the King was prevailed with to march with his Army to *Reading*. This Alarm quickly came to *London*, and was received with the deepest horror: they now unbelieved all which had been told them from their own Army; that Army which, they were told, was well beaten, and scattered, was now advanced within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Essex*, who pretended to the Victory, and who they supposed was watching the King, that he might not escape from him, could not be heard of, and continued still at *Warwick*. Whilst the King was at *Nottingham*, and *Shrewsbury*, they gave orders

B O O K VI. Magisterially for the War, but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

Before they were resolved what to say, they despatched a Messenger, who found the King at *Reading*, only to desire “ a Safe Conduct from his Majesty for
“ a Committee of Lords and Commons, to attend
“ his Majesty with a humble Petition from his Par-
“ liament.” The King presently returned his Answer,
“ that he had always been, and was still ready to
“ receive any Petition from them; that their Com-
“ mittee should be Welcome, provided it consisted
“ of Persons, who had not been by name declared
“ Traytors by his Majesty, and excepted as such in
“ his Declarations, or Proclamations.” The cause of this limitation was as well the former Rule his Majesty had set down at *Shrewsbury* (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a Battle) as that he might prevent the Lord *Say*’s being sent to him, from whom he could expect no entire, and upright dealing.

The next day another Letter came from the Speaker of the House of Peers to the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majesty’s Principal Secretaries, to desire “ a Safe
“ Conduct for the Earls of *Northumberland*, and
“ *Pembroke*, and four Members of the House of Com-
“ mons, to attend his Majesty with their Petition;” which Safe Conduct was immediately signed by his Majesty, excepting only for Sir *John Evelyn*, who was by name excepted in his Majesty’s Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wilts*; which Proclamation was then sent to them with a signification, “ that
“ if they would send any other Person in his place,

“ not subject to the same exception, he should be
 “ received as if his name were in the Safe Conduct.”

B O O K
 VI.

Though this was no more than they had cause to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aside the thought of Petitioning, as if his Majesty had rejected all Overtures of Peace: “ For he might
 “ every day proclaim as many of their Members
 “ Traytors, and except them from Pardon, as he
 “ pleased, and therefore it was to no purpose to
 “ prepare Petitions, and appoint Messengers to pre-
 “ sent them, when it was possible those Messengers
 “ might, the hour before, be proclaimed Traytors:
 “ that to submit to such a limitation of the King’s
 “ was, upon the matter, to consent to, and ap-
 “ prove the highest breach of Privilege, that had
 “ been yet offered to them.”

So that, for some days, all discourse of Peace was waved, and all possible preparations for defence and resistance made for which they had a stronger Argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General, the Earl of *Essex*, who was now on his march towards *London*; and a great fame came before him of the strength and Courage of his Army; though in truth it was not answerable to the report: However, it served to encourage, and inflame those whose fear only inclined them to Peace, and to awe the rest. The King, who had every night an account of what was transacted in the Houses all day (what the close Committee did, who guided all private designs, was not so soon known) resolved to quicken them; and advanced with his whole Army to *Colebrook*. This indeed exalted their appetite to Peace; for the clamor

The King
 advances to
Colebrook.

BOOK VI. of the People was importunate, and somewhat humbled their Style; for at *Colebrock*, the 11th of *November*, his Majesty was met by the two Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembroke*, with those three of the House of Commons whose Names were in the Safe Conduct; they satisfying themselves, that the leaving Sir *John Evelyn* behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no Submission to the King's exception: and this Petition was by them presented to him.

A petition presented to the King from both Houses.

“ We your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the
 “ Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,
 “ being affected with a deep and piercing sense of
 “ the miseries of this Kingdom, and of the dangers
 “ to your Majesty's Person, as the present affairs
 “ now stand; and much quickened therein with the
 “ sad consideration of the great effusion of Blood at
 “ the late Battle, and of the loss of so many eminent
 “ Persons; and farther weighing the addition of
 “ Loss, Misery, and Danger to your Majesty, and
 “ your Kingdom, which must ensue, if both Armies
 “ should again join in another Battle, as without
 “ God's especial blessing, and your Majesty's concurrence with your Houses of Parliament will not
 “ probably be avoided: We cannot but believe that
 “ a suitable impression of tenderness, and compassion,
 “ is wrought in your Majesty's Royal heart, being
 “ yourself an Eye-Witness of the bloody and sorrowful destruction of so many of your Subjects; and
 “ that your Majesty doth apprehend what diminution of your own Power and Greatness will follow,
 “ and that all your Kingdoms will thereby be so

“ weakened as to become subject to the Attempts of
 “ any ill affected to this State. B O O K
VI.

“ In all which respects We assure ourselves, that
 “ Your Majesty will be inclined graciously to accept
 “ this our humble Petition; that the misery, and
 “ desolation of this Kingdom may be speedily re-
 “ moved, and prevented. For the effecting whereof,
 “ We humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint some
 “ convenient place, not far from the City of *London*,
 “ where your Majesty will be pleased to reside, until
 “ Committees of both Houses of Parliament may
 “ attend your Majesty with some Propositions for
 “ the removal of these bloody distempers and dis-
 “ tractions, and settling the State of the Kingdom in
 “ such a manner as may conduce to the preservation
 “ of God’s true Religion, your Majesty’s Honor,
 “ Safety, and Prosperity; and to the Peace, Com-
 “ fort, and Security of all your People.

The King, within two or three hours after the receipt of this Petition, delivered to the same Messengers, this ensuing Answer, with which they returned the same Night to *London*.

“ We take God to Witness, how deeply We are
 “ affected with the miseries of this Kingdom, which The King’s
Answer.
 “ heretofore We have stroven, as much as in Us
 “ lay to prevent; it being sufficiently known to all
 “ the world that, as We were not the first that took
 “ up Arms, so, We have showed Our readiness of
 “ composing all things in a fair way, by our several
 “ offers of Treaty, and shall be glad now at length
 “ to find any such inclinations in others. The same
 “ tendernefs to avoid the destruction of our Subjects

B O O K

VI.

“ (whom We know to be our greatest strength)
 “ which would always make our greatest Victories
 “ bitter to us, shall make us willingly hearken to
 “ such Propositions, whereby these bloody dis-
 “ tempers may be stopped, and the great distractions
 “ of this Kingdom settled to God’s glory, Our Honor,
 “ and the Welfare, and Flourishing of Our People:
 “ And to that end shall reside at our own Castle at
 “ *Windsor* (if the Forces there shall be removed) till
 “ Committees may have time to attend us with the
 “ same (which, to prevent the Inconveniencies that
 “ will intervene, We wish be hastened) and shall
 “ be ready there, or, if that be refused us, at any
 “ place where We shall be, to receive such Pro-
 “ positions as afore-said, from both our Houses of
 “ Parliament. Do you Your duty, We will not be
 “ wanting in Ours. God of his mercy give a blessing.”

It was then believed by many, that if the King had,
 as soon as the Messengers returned to *London*, re-
 tired with his Army to *Reading*, and there expected
 the Parliament’s Answers, they would immediately
 have withdrawn their Garrison from *Windsor*, and
 delivered that Castle to his Majesty for his accom-
 modation to have treated in: And without doubt
 those Lords who had been with the Petition, and
 some others who thought themselves as much over-
 shadowed, by the greatness of the Earl of *Essex*, and
 the Chief Officers of the Army, as they could be by
 the glory of any Favorite, or power of any Coun-
 sellors, were resolved to merit as much as they could
 of the King, by advancing an honorable Peace; and
 had it in their purpose to endeavour the giving up

of *Windsor* to the King; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that so considerable a strength, in so considerable a place, should have been quitted, whilst there was only hope of a Peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's Army carried great terror with it; and all those reports, which published the weakness of it, grew to be peremptorily disbelieved. For, besides that every day's experience disproved somewhat which was so confidently reported, and it was evident great industry was used to apply such Intelligence to the People as was most like to make impression upon the passions, and affections of the Vulgar-spirited, it could not be believed that a handful of Men could have given Battle to their formidable Army, and after taking two or three of their Garrisons, presume to march within fifteen Miles of *London*: so that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to *Reading*, relying upon a Treaty for the rest, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and consequently his grace the more magnified. And sure the King resolved to have done so, or at least to have stayed at *Colebrook* till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince *Rupert*, exalted with the terror he heard his Name gave to the Enemy, trusting too much to the Vulgar Intelligence every Man received from his Friends at *London*, who according to their own passions and the Affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the King had so great a Party in *London*, that, if his Army drew near, no resistance would be made, without any direction from the King the very next morning after the Com-

B O O K
VI.

mittee returned to *London*, advanced with the Horse and Dragoons to *Hounslow*, and then sent to the King to desire him that the Army might march after; which was, in that case of absolute necessity; for the Earl of *Essex* had a part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the rest at *Acton*, and *Kingston*. So that if the King had not advanced with His Body, those who were before might very easily have been compassed in, and their Retreat made very difficult.

The King
marches to-
wards.
Brentford.

So the King marched with his whole Army towards *Brentford*, where were two Regiments of their best Foot (for so they were accounted, being those who had eminently behaved themselves at *Edge-hill*) having Barricadoed the narrow Avenues to the Town, and cast up some little Breast-Works at the most convenient places. Here a *Welsh* Regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at *Edge-hill*, recovered its Honor, assaulted the Works, and forced the Barricadoes well defended by the Enemy. Then the King's Forces entered the Town after a very warm Service, the chief Officers, and many Soldiers of the other side being killed; and they took there above five hundred Prisoners, eleven Colors, and fifteen Pieces of Cannon, and good store of Ammunition. But this Victory (for considering the place it might well be called so) proved not at all fortunate to his Majesty.

The two Houses were so well satisfied with the Answer their Committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majesty's Clemency, and gracious Reception of them, that they had sent order to their Forces, "That they
" should

“ should not exercise any Act of Hostility towards
 “ the King’s Forces;” and, at the same time, des-
 patched a Messenger, to acquaint his Majesty there-
 with, and to desire “ that there might be the like
 “ forbearance on His part.” The Messenger found
 both Parties engaged at *Brentford*, and so returned
 without attending his Majesty, who had no appre-
 hension that they intended any Cessation; since those
 Forces were advanced to *Brentford*, *Acton*, and
Kingston, after their Committee was sent to *Colebrook*.
 However they looked upon this entering of *Brentford*
 as a surprise contrary to Faith, and the betraying
 their Forces to a Massacre, under the specious pre-
 tence of a Treaty for Peace. The Alarm came to
London, with the same Terror as if the Army were
 entered their Gates, and the King accused “ of Trea-
 “ chery, Perfidy, and Blood; and that he had
 “ given the Spoil and Wealth of the City as Pillage
 “ to his Army, which advanced with no other
 “ purpose.”

They who believed nothing of those Calumnies,
 were not yet willing the King should enter the City
 with an Army, which, they knew, would not be
 Governed in so Rich Quarters; and therefore, with
 unspeakable Expedition, the Army under the Earl
 of *Essex* was not only drawn together, but all the
 Trained-bands of *London* led out in their brightest
 Equipage upon the Heath next *Brentford*; where
 they had indeed a full Army of Horse and Foot, fit
 to have decided the Title of a Crown with an
 equal Adversary. The View and Prospect of this
 strength, which nothing but that sudden Exigent

The Earl of
 Essex’s Army,
 and the City
 Trained-
 bands opposed
 against them.

B O O K could have brought together, extremely puffed them
VI. up; not only as it was an ample Security against the present danger, but as it looked like a Safe Power to encounter any other. They had now before their Eyes the King's little handful of Men, and then begun to wonder and blush at their own fears; and all this might be without excess of Courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of Equipage (which to Soldiers is a great addition of Mettle) were five times greater than the King's, Harassed, Weather-beaten, and half-starved Troops.

I have heard many knowing Men, and some who were then in the City-Regiments, say, "That if the King had Advanced, and Charged that Massive body, it had presently given ground; and that the King had so great a Party in every Regiment, that they would have made no resistance. But it had been madness, which no Success could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King easily discerned that He had brought himself into straits and difficulties, which would be hardly mastered, and exposed his Victorious Army to a view, at too near a distance of his two Enemies, the Parliament and the City. Yet he stood all that day in Battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their Cannon, to the loss only of four or five Horses, and not one Man. The constitution of their Forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the Company they were in, being a good argument to Them not to Charge the King, which had been an ill one to Him to Charge Them.

When the Evening drew on, and it appeared that
 great Body stood only for the defence of the City,
 the King appointed his Army to draw off to *King-
 ston*, which the Rebels had kindly quitted; which
 they did without the loss of a Man; and himself
 went to his own House at *Hampton-Court*; where
 he rested the next day, as well to refresh his Army,
 even tired with Watching and Fasting, as to expect
 some Propositions from the Houses. For, upon
 his Advance to *Brentford*, he had sent a Servant of
 his own, one Mr. *White*, with a Message to the Par-
 liament, containing the reasons of that motion
 (there being no Cessation offered on Their part) and
 desiring "the Propositions might be despatched to
 " him with all speed." But his Messenger being
 carried to the Earl of *Essex*, was by him used very
 roughly, and by the Houses committed to the Gate-
 house, not without the motion of some Men, "that
 " he might be executed as a Spy."

After a day's stay at *Hampton-Court*, the King re-
 moved himself to his House at *Oatlands*, leaving the
 gross of his Army still at *Kingston*, and thereabouts;
 but being then informed of the high imputations
 they had laid upon him; "of breach of Faith, by
 " his march to *Brentford*; and that the City was really
 " inflamed with an opinion, that he meant to have
 " surprised them, and to have sacked the Town;
 " that they were so possessed with that fear, and ap-
 " prehension that their care and preparation for their
 " safety would at least keep off all Propositions for
 " Peace, whilst the Army lay so near *London*:" He gave

B O O K

VI.

Thence to
Reading.The King
sends a Mes-
sage to the
Houses.

direction for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; first discharging all the Common-Soldiers, who had been taken Prisoners at *Brentford* (except such who Voluntarily offered to serve him) upon their Oaths that they would no more bear Arms against his Majesty.

The King then sent a Message to the Houses, in which “ He took notice of those unjust and unreasonable imputations raised on him; told them “ again of the reasons and circumstances of His motion towards *Brentford*; of the Earl of *Essex*’s “ drawing out his Forces towards him, and possessing those Quarters about him, and almost hemming him in, after the time that the Commissioners “ were sent to him with the Petition; that he had “ never heard of the least overture of the forbearing “ all Acts of Hostility, but saw the contrary practised by Them by that Advance; that he had not “ the least thought or intention of mastering the City “ by Force, or carrying his Army thither: That he “ wondered to hear his Soldiers charged with thirsting after blood, when they took above five “ hundred Prisoners in the very heat of the Fight. “ He told them such were most apt, and likely to “ maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who “ had only got it by Oppression and Injustice; that “ His was vested in him by the Law, and by that “ only (if the destructive Counsels of others did not “ hinder such a Peace, in which that might once “ again be the universal rule, and in which only “ Religion and Justice could flourish) he desired to “ maintain it: that he intended to march to such a

“ distance from his City of *London* as might take
 “ away all pretence of apprehension from his Army,
 “ that might hinder them from preparing their Pro-
 “ positions, in all security, to be presented to him;
 “ and there he would be ready to receive them, or,
 “ if that expedient pleased them not, to end the
 “ Pressures and Miseries, which his Subjects, to
 “ his great grief, suffered through this War, by a
 “ present Battle.”

But as the Armies being so near *London* was an Argument against a present Treaty, so its remove to *Reading* was a greater with very many not to desire any. The danger, which they had brought themselves for some days together to look upon at their Gates, was now to be contemned at the distance of thirty miles; and this Retreat imputed only to the fear of their Power, not to the inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the Major part did really desire a good Peace, and whilst Overtures were preparing to that purpose, had the skill to intermingle Acts more destructive to it, than any Propositions could be contributory (as the inviting the *Scots* to their Assistance by that Declaration, which is before mentioned; and the publishing a Declaration at the same time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one set forth by the King long before in Answer to their's of the 26th of *May*, in which they used both his Person and his Power with more irreverence than they had ever done before) now only insisted on the surprise, as they called it, of *Brentford*; and published, by the Authority of both Houses, a relation of the carriage

B O O K
VI.

of the King's Soldiers in that Town after their Victory (which they framed upon the discourses of the Country-People, who possibly, as it could not be otherwise, had received damage by their Licence then) to make the King and his Army odious to the Kingdom; "as affecting nothing but Blood and
" Rapine; and concluding, that there could not be
" reasonably expected any good Conditions of a to-
" lerable Peace from the King, whilst he was in such
" Company; and therefore that all particular Pro-
" positions were to be resolved into that one, of in-
" viting his Majesty to come to them;" and got a
Vote from the Major part of both Houses, "that
" no other measure for Accommodation or Treaty
" should be thought on."

Their Trusty Lord Mayor of *London*, *Isaac Pennington*, who was again chosen to serve another year, so bestirred himself, having to assist him two Sheriffs, *Langham* and *Andrews*, as they could wish, that there was not only no more importunity or interposition from the City for Peace; but, instead thereof, an Overture and Declaration from divers, under the style of well affected Persons, "that they
" would advance a considerable number of Soldiers,
" for the supply and recruit of the Parliament-Forces;
" and would Arm, Maintain, and Pay them for
" several Months, or during the times of danger,
" and distractions; provided that they might have
" the public Faith of the Kingdom for repayment
" of all such Sums of Money, which they should so
" advance by way of Loan." This wonderful kind of Proposition was presently declared "to be an

“ acceptable service to the King, Parliament, and
 “ Kingdom, and necessarily tending to the prefer-
 “ vation of them ;” and therefore an Ordinance, as
 they call it, was framed and passed both Houses:

“ That all such as should furnish Men, Money, An Ordinance
for raising
Money upon
the public
Faith.
 “ Horse, or Arms for that Service, should have the
 “ same fully repaid again, with Interest for the
 “ forbearance thereof, from the times disbursed.
 “ And for the true payment thereof, they did there-
 “ by engage to all, and every such Person, and
 “ Persons, the public Faith of the Kingdom.” And
 ordered the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*,
 by themselves, or such Sub-Committees as they
 should appoint, to take Subscriptions, and to intend
 the advancement of that Service. Upon this volun-
 tary, general Proposition, made by a few obscure
 Men, probably such who were not able to supply
 much Money, was this Ordinance made; and from
 this Ordinance the Active Mayor, and Sheriffs,
 appointed a Committee of such Persons whose in-
 clinations they well knew, to press all kind of Peo-
 ple, especially those who were not forward, to new
 Subscriptions; and, by degrees, from this uncon-
 sidered passage, grew the monthly Tax of six thou-
 sand pounds to be set upon the City for the payment
 of the Army.

As they provided, with this notable circumspec-
 tion, to raise Men and Money; so they took not
 less Care, nor used less Art, and Industry, to raise
 their General; and lest he might suppose himself fallen
 in their good grace, and confidence, by bringing
 an Army back shattered, poor, and discomfited,

B O O K
VI.

which he had carried out in full Numbers, and glorious Equipage, they used him with greater reverence and submission than ever. They had before appointed another distinct Army to be raised under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and not subject to the Power of the Earl of *Essex*, and of this; several Regiments and Troops were raised; these they sent to the old Army, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave up his Commission, upon resolution “that
“there should be only One General, and He, the
“Earl of *Essex*.” Then the two Houses passed, and presented, with great solemnity, this Declaration to his Excellency, the same day that their Committee went to the King with their Petition:

A Declaration
of both Houses
concerning
their General's
acceptable
service.

“That, as they had, upon mature deliberation,
“and assured confidence in his Wisdom, Courage,
“and Fidelity, chosen, and appointed Him their
“Captain General; so they did find, that the said
“Earl had managed that Service, of so high importance, with so much care, valor, and dexterity,
“as well by the extremest hazard of his life, in a
“bloody Battle near *Keinton* in *Warwickshire*, as by
“all the Actions of a most excellent and expert Commander, in the whole course of that employment,
“as did deserve their best acknowledgment: And,
“they did therefore declare, and publish, to the
“lasting Honor of the said Earl, the great and acceptable Service, which he had therein done to the
“Common-wealth; and should be willing and ready,
“upon all occasions, to express the due sense they
“had of his merits, by assuring and protecting Him,
“and all others employed under his Command in

“ that Service, with their Lives and Fortunes, to
 “ the uttermost of their Power: that Testimony
 “ and Declaration to remain upon record, in both
 “ Houses of Parliament, for a mark of Honor to his
 “ Person, Name, and Family, and for a Monu-
 “ ment of his singular Virtue to Posterity.

When they had thus composed their Army and their General, they sent this Petition to the King to *Reading*, who stayed still there in expectation of their Propositions.

May it please your Majesty:

“ It is humbly desired by both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment, that your Majesty will be pleased to return
 “ to your Parliament, with your Royal, not your
 “ Martial, Attendance; to the end that Religion,
 “ Laws, and Liberties, may be settled and secured
 “ by Their advice; finding by a sad, and late acci-
 “ dent, that your Majesty is environed by some
 “ such Counsels, as do rather persuade a desperate
 “ division, than a joining and a good agreement
 “ with your Parliament and People: And We shall
 “ be ready to give your Majesty Assurances of such
 “ security, as may be for your Honor, and the safety
 “ of your Royal Person.

The Houses
 Petition to
 the King
 Nov 24.

As soon as the King received this strange Address, he returned them by the same Messenger a sharp Answer to this effect; He told them, “ he hoped all
 “ his good Subjects would look upon that Message
 “ with Indignation, as intended, by the Contrivers
 “ thereof, as a scorn to him; and thereby designed
 “ by that Malignant Party (of whom he had so often
 “ complained, whose safety and ambition was built

The Substance
 of the King's
 Answer.

B O O K
VI.

“ upon the Divisions and Ruins of the Kingdom;
“ and who had too great an influence upon their
“ Actions) for a Wall of separation betwixt his Ma-
“ jesty and his People. He said, he had often told
“ them the reasons, why he departed from *London*;
“ how he was chased thence, and by whom; and
“ as often complained, that the greatest part of his
“ Peers, and of the Members of the House of Com-
“ mons, could not, with safety to their Honors and
“ Persons, continue, and Vote freely among them;
“ but, by violence, and cunning practices, were
“ debarred of those Privileges, which their Birth-
“ rights, and the trust reposed in them by their
“ Counties, gave them: That the whole Kingdom
“ knew that an Army was raised, under pretence
“ of Orders of both Houses (an usurpation never
“ before heard of in any Age) which Army had pur-
“ sued his Majesty in his own Kingdom; given him
“ Battle at *Keinton* and now, those Rebels being
“ recruited, and possessed of the City of *London*, he
“ was courteously invited to return to his Parliament
“ there, that is, to the power of that Army.

“ That, he said, could signify nothing but that,
“ since the Trayterous endeavours of those desperate
“ Men could not snatch the Crown from His head,
“ it being defended by the Providence of God, and
“ the Affections and Loyalty of his good Subjects,
“ he should now tamely come up, and give it them;
“ and put Himself, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties,
“ and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their
“ Merciful hands. He said, he thought not fit to
“ give any other Answer to that part of their Peti-

“ tion: But as he imputed not that affront to both
“ his Houses of Parliament, nor to the Major part
“ of those who were then present there, but to that
“ dangerous Party his Majesty and the Kingdom
“ must still cry out upon; so he would not (for his
“ good Subjects sake and out of his most tender sense
“ of their Miseries, and the general Calamities of
“ the Kingdom, which must, if the War continued,
“ speedily overwhelm the whole Nation) take advantage of it: But if they would really pursue the
“ course they seemed, by their Petition at *Colebrook*,
“ to be inclined to, he should make good all he then
“ promised; whereby the hearts of his distressed
“ Subjects might be raised with the hopes of Peace;
“ without which, Religion, the Laws, and Liberties, could by no ways be settled and secured.
“ For the late and sad accident they mentioned,
“ if they intended that of *Brentford*, he desired them
“ once again to deal ingenuously with the People,
“ and to let them see his last Message to them, and
“ his Declaration concerning the same” (both which his Majesty had sent to his Presses at *London*, but were taken away from his Messenger, and not suffered to be published) “ and then he doubted not, but
“ they would be soon undeceived, and easily find
“ out those Counsels, which did rather persuade a
“ desperate division, than a good agreement between
“ twixt his Majesty, his two Houses, and People.

This Answer being delivered, without any farther consideration whether the same were reasonable or not reasonable, they declared “ the King had no
“ mind to Peace;” and thereupon laid aside all

B O O K
VI.

farther Debates to that purpose; and ordered their General to march to *Windsor* with the Army, to be so much nearer the King's Forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their most eminent Chaplains, Dr. *Downing* and Mr. *Marshall*, publicly avowed, "that the Soldiers lately taken Prisoners at *Brentford*, and discharged, and released by the King upon their Oaths, that they would never again bear Arms against him, were not obliged by that Oaths;" but, by Their power, absolved them thereof, and so engaged again those miserable Wretches in a second Rebellion.

When the King discerned clearly that the Enemies to Peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther thought of preparing Propositions to be sent to him; after he had seen a Line drawn about *Reading*, which he resolved to keep as a Garrison, and the works in a reasonable forwardness, he left Sir *Arthur Aston*, whom he had lately made Commissary General of the Horse (Mr. *Wilmot* being at the same time constituted Lieutenant-General) Governor thereof, with a Garrison of above two thousand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horse: and himself with the rest of his Army marched to *Oxford*, where he resolved to rest that Winter, settling at the same time a good Garrison at *Wallingford*, a place of great importance within eight Miles of *Oxford*; another at the *Brill* upon the Edge of *Buckinghamshire*; a third being before settled at *Banbury*; *Abingdon* being the head Quarters for his Horse; and by this means he had all *Oxfordshire* entire, all *Berkshire*, but that barren division about *Windsor*; and from

The King
having
Garrisoned
Reading and
Wallingford,
and some
other places
marches to
Oxford.

the *Brill*, and *Banbury*, a good influence upon *Buckinghamshire*, and *Northamptonshire*. B O O K
VI.

The King was hardly settled in his Quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a Garrison at *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, a Town the most notoriously disaffected of all that County; otherwise, saving the obstinacy and malice of the Inhabitants, in the Situation of it very unfit for a Garrison. Thither the Earl of *Essex* had sent one *Ramsay* (a *Scotch*-man, as very many of their Officers were of that Nation) to be Governor; who, with the help of the Factious People there, had quickly drawn together five or six hundred Men. This place the King saw, would soon prove an ill Neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich County, and so would straiten, and even infest his Quarters (for it was within twenty Miles of *Oxford*) but as it did cut off his Line of Communication with the West: And therefore, though it was *December*, a season, when his tired, and almost naked Soldiers might expect rest, he sent a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr. *Wilmot* the Lieutenant-General of his Horse, to visit that Town; who, coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the place strongly Manned: for, besides the Garrison, it being Market-day, very many Country-People came thither to buy and sell, and were all compelled to stay and take Arms for the defence of the place; which, for the most part, they were willing to do, and the People peremptory to defend it. Though there was no Line about it, yet there were some places of great advantage, upon which

Marlborough
Garrisoned
by the
Parliament.

B O O K they had raised Batteries, and planted Cannon, and
VI. so Barricadoed all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horse could do little service.

When the Lieutenant-General was, with his Party, near the Town, he apprehended a fellow who confessed upon Examination, “ that he was a Spy, and “ sent by the Governor to bring Intelligence of their “ strength and motion.” When all Men thought, and the poor fellow himself feared, he should be executed; the Lieutenant-General caused his whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell those that sent him, what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the Magistrates of the Town, “ that they should do well to treat with the “ Garrison, to give them leave to submit to the “ King; that if they did so, the Town should not “ receive the least prejudice; but if they compelled “ him to make his way, and enter the Town by “ force, it would not be in his power to keep his “ Soldiers from taking that which they should win “ with their Blood:” and so dismissed him. This generous Act proved of some advantage; for the fellow, transported with having his Life given him; and the Numbers of the Men he had seen, besides his no Experience in such fights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the Strength, Gallantry, and Resolution of the Enemy, and of the impossibility of resisting them; which, though it prevailed not with those in Authority to yield, yet

it strangely abated the hopes, and courage of the People. So that when the King's Soldiers fell on, after a Volley or two, in which much Execution was done, they threw down their Arms, and run into the Town; so that the Foot had time to make room for the Horse, who were now entered at both ends of the Town, yet were not so near an end as they expected; for the Streets were in many place Baricadoed, which were obstinately defended by some Soldiers and Towns-men, who killed many Men out of the Windows of the Houses; so that, it may be, if they had trusted only to their own strength, without compelling the Country-Men to increase their Number, and who being first frightened, and weary, disheartened their Companions, that place might have cost more Blood. *Ramsfey* the Governor was himself retired into the Church with some Officers, and from thence did some hurt; upon this, there being so many killed out of Windows, fire was put to the next Houses, so that a good part of the Town was burned, and then the Soldiers entered doing less Execution than could reasonably be expected; but, what they spared in Blood, they took in Pillage, the Soldiers inquiring little who were Friends or Foes.

This was the first Garrison taken on either side; for *Farnham* Castle in *Surry*, whither some Gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repaired, and were taken with less resistance than was fit, by Sir *Willam Waller*, some few days before, deserved not the name of a Garrison. In this of *Marlborough* were taken, besides the Governor,

Marlborough
taken by the
King's Forces
under Lieuten-
ant-General
Wilmot.

B O O K and other Officers, who yielded upon Quarter,
VI. above one thousand Prisoners; great stores of Arms, four pieces of Cannon, and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant-General returned safe to *Oxford*: Though this Success was a little shadowed, by the unfortunate loss of a very good Regiment of Horse within a few days after; for the Lord *Grandison*, by the miscarriage of Orders, was exposed, at too great a distance from the Army, with his single Regiment of Horse consisting of three hundred, and a Regiment of two hundred Dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a Party of the Enemy of five thousand Horse and Dragoons; and so was Himself, after a Retreat made to *Winchester*, there taken with all his Party; which was the first loss of that kind; the King sustained; but without the least fault of the Commander; and the misfortune was much lessened by his making an escape himself with two or three of his principal Officers, who were very welcome to *Oxford*.

The first thing the King applied himself to consult upon, after he was settled in his Winter-Quarters, and despaired of any honest Overtures for a Peace, was, how to apply some Antidote to that Poison, which was sent to *Scotland*, in that Declaration We mentioned before; the which he had not only seen, as an Act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the *Scottish* Earl of *Lindsey*, who was then a Commissioner Leiger at *London* for *Scotland*, had presented it to him. And there was every day some motion in the House of Commons to press the *Scots*, to invade the Kingdom for their assistance,
upon

upon the growth of the Earl of *New-Castle's* power in the North. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy-Council of *Scotland* (who by the Laws enacted, when he was last there, had the Absolute, indeed Regal, Power of that Kingdom) and took notice of that Declaration, which had been sent to them, earnestly inviting, and in a manner challenging an Assistance from that his Native Kingdom of Men and Arms, for making a War against him, and making claim to that Assistance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

He told them, " that, as he was at his Soul afflicted, that it had been in the power of any factious, " and ambitious, and malicious Persons, so far to " possess the hearts of many of his Subjects of *Eng* " *land*, as to raise this miserable distemper, and " distraction in this Kingdom against all his real en- " deavours and actions to the contrary; so he was " glad, that That rage and fury had so far transf- " ported them, that they applied themselves, in so " gross a manner, to his Subjects of *Scotland*; whose " experience of his Religion, Justice, and Love of " his People, would not suffer them to believe those " horrid Scandals, laid upon his Majesty: and their " Affection, Loyalty, and Jealousy of his Honor, " would disdain to be made Instruments to oppress " their native Sovereign, by assisting an odious " Rebellion." He remembered them, " that he had " from time to time acquainted his Subjects of that " Kingdom with the Accidents, and Circumstances " which had disquieted This, how, after all the acts " of Justice, Grace, and Favor, performed on His

The Substance
of the King's
Message to the
Privy-Council
of Scotland,
upon occasion
of the two
Houses Decla-
ration to that
Kingdom.

B O O K

VI.

“ part , which were or could be desired to make a
“ People completely happy , he was driven, by the
“ force and violence of rude and tumultuous Assem-
“ blies , from his City of *London* , and his Houses of
“ Parliament ; how attempts had been made to im-
“ pose Laws upon his Subjects , without His con-
“ sent , and contrary to the foundation and consti-
“ tution of the Kingdom ; how his Forts , Goods ,
“ and Navy , had been seized , and taken from him
“ by force, and employed against him ; his Revenue,
“ and ordinary Subsistence, wrested from him : How
“ he had been pursued with scandalous and re-
“ proachful Language ; bold, false, and seditious Pas-
“ quils , and Libels, publicly allowed against him ;
“ and had been told that he might, without want of
“ Modesty and Duty , be deposed : That after all
“ this , before any force raised by Him , an Army
“ was raised , and a General appointed to lead that
“ Army against his Majesty , with a Commission to
“ kill , slay , and destroy all such who should be
“ faithful to him : That when he had been, by these
“ means , compelled , with the Assistance of his
“ good Subjects , to raise an Army for his necessary
“ defence, he had sent divers gracious Messages,
“ earnestly desiring that the calamities, and miseries
“ of a Civil War might be prevented by a Treaty ;
“ and so he might know the grounds of that mis-
“ understanding : That he was absolutely refused to
“ be treated with , and the Army (raised , as was
“ pretended , for the defence of his Person) brought
“ into the Field against him ; gave him Battle ; and ,
“ though it pleased God to give his Majesty the

“ Victory, destroyed many of his good Subjects,
“ with as eminent danger to his own Person, and
“ his Children, as the skill and malice of desperate
“ Rebels could contrive.

“ Of all which, and the other Indignities, which
“ had been offered to him, he doubted not the Duty
“ and Affection of his *Scottish* Subjects would have
“ so just a resentment, that they would express to
“ the world the sense they had of his sufferings:
“ And, he hoped, his good Subjects of *Scotland*
“ were not so great strangers to the affairs of this
“ Kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and dis-
“ traction was begot and brought upon him by his
“ two Houses of Parliament; though, in truth, no
“ unwarrantable Action against the Law could be
“ justified even by That Authority; but that they
“ well knew how the Members of both Houses had
“ been driven thence, insomuch that, of above five
“ hundred Members of the House of Commons,
“ there were not then there above fourscore; and,
“ of above one hundred of the House of Peers,
“ not above fifteen or sixteen; all which were so
“ awed by a multitude of *Anabaptists, Brownists*, and
“ other Persons, desperate, and decayed in their
“ fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that,
“ in truth, their consultations had not the Freedom
“ and Privilege which belong to Parliaments.

“ Concerning any Commissions granted by his
“ Majesty to Papists to raise Forces, he referred
“ them to a Declaration, lately set forth by him
“ upon the occasion of that scandal, which he like-
“ wise then sent to them. And for his own true, and

B O O K

VI.

“ zealous affection to the Protestant Religion, he
“ would give no other Instance than his own con-
“ stant practice, on which Malice itself could lay
“ no blemish; and those many Protestations he had
“ made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom he
“ knew he should be dearly accountable if he failed
“ in the observation.

“ For that scandalous imputation of his intention.
“ of bringing in Foreign Forces, as the same was
“ raised without the least shadow or color of reason,
“ and solemnly disavowed by his Majesty, in many
“ of his Declarations; so there could not be a clearer
“ Argument to his Subjects of *Scotland* that he had
“ no such thought, than that he had hitherto for-
“ borne to require the Assistance of that his Native
“ Kingdom; from whose Obedience, Duty, and
“ Affection, he should confidently expect it, if he
“ thought his own strength here too weak to pre-
“ serve him; and of whose Courage, and Loyalty,
“ he should look to make use, before he should
“ think of any Foreign Aid to succour him. And he
“ knew no reasonable or understanding Man could
“ suppose that they were obliged, or enabled, by
“ the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to
“ obey the invitation that was made to them by
“ that pretended Declaration, when it was so evi-
“ dently provided for by that Act, that as the King-
“ dom of *England* should not War against the King-
“ dom of *Scotland*, without Consent of the Parlia-
“ ment of *England*, so the Kingdom of *Scotland*
“ should not make War against the Kingdom of
“ *England*, without the Consent of the Parliament
“ of *Scotland*.’

He told them, “if the grave Counsel and Advice,
“which they had given, and derived to the Houses
“of Parliament here, by their Act of the 22^d of
“*April* last, had been followed in a tender care of
“his Royal Person, and of his Princely Greatness
“and Authority, there would not that face of Con-
“fusion have appeared, which now threatened
“this Kingdom: and therefore he required them to
“Communicate what he then writ to all his Sub-
“jects of that Kingdom, and to use their utmost
“endeavours to inform them of the truth of his
“Condition; and that they suffered not the Scan-
“dals and Imputations laid on his Majesty by the
“Malice and Treason of some Men, to make any
“impression in the minds of his People, to the les-
“sening or corrupting their Affections and Loyalty
“to him; but that they assured them all, that the
“hardness he then underwent, and the Arms he
“had been compelled to take up, were for the de-
“fence of his Person and safety of his Life; for the
“maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, for
“the preservation of the Laws, Liberties, and
“Constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just
“Privileges of Parliament; and that he looked no
“longer for a blessing from Heaven, than he en-
“deavoured the Defence and Advancement of all
“these: And, He could not doubt, a dutiful con-
“currence in his Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care
“of his Honor, and just Rights, would draw down
“a blessing upon that Nation too.”

Though his Majesty well knew all the Persons,
to whom he directed this Letter, to be those who

B O O K
VI.

were only able and willing to do him all possible disservice, yet he was sure by other Instruments, if they neglected, which, for that reason, they were not like to do, to publish it to the People there; which he believed might so far operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade *England*; and other fruit of their Allegiance he expected not, than that they should not Rebel.

What means
the King
then used to
raise Money.

His Majesty's next care was the procuring Money for the payment of his Army; that the narrow circuit which contained his Quarters, might not be so intolerably oppressed with that whole burden. This was a very difficult matter; for the Soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no Orders or Rules but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert* considered only the subsistence, and advance of the Horse, as His Province, and indeed as if it had been a Province apart from the Army; and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions, which the Counties within command willingly submitted to, should be assigned to any other use than the support of the Horse, and to be immediately collected, and received by the Officers. So that the several Garrisons, and all the Body of Foot, were to be constantly paid, and his Majesty's weekly Expense for his House borne, out of such Monies as could be borrowed. For, of all his own Revenue, he had not yet the receiving a Penny within his power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even such who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to supply him: Only by Letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited those

who were able, to consider how much their own Security and Prosperity was concerned, and depended upon the preservation of His Rights; and offered to sell any of his Lands, or to give any Personal security for whatsoever Money would be lent to him at Interest: for he had directed a Grant to be prepared of several Parks, and Forests, and other Crown-Lands, to many Persons of Honor and great Fortune about him, whose Estates and Reputation were well known; who were ready to be Personally bound for whatsoever Sums could be borrowed.

The Affection of the University of *Oxford* was most eminent: For, as they had before, when the Troubles first broke out, sent the King above ten thousand pounds out of the several Stocks of the Colleges, and the Purfes of particular Persons, many whereof lent him all they had; so they now again made him a new Present. By these means, and the Loan of particular Persons, especially from *London* (for from thence, notwithstanding all the strict watch to the contrary, considerable Sums were drawn) The King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thousand pounds weekly, in such manner, that, during the whole Winter, there was not the least disorder for want of pay. And then he used all possible care to encourage and countenance new Levies of Horse and Foot, for the recruiting his Army against the next Spring.

The Parliament's Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament, attended that Council diligently, upon which that

B O O K
VI.

Army alone depended; and, though they still seemed very desirous of Peace, they very solemnly and severely prosecuted all those who really endeavoured it. Their partiality and injustice was so notorious, that there was no rule or measure of Right in any matter depending before them, but consideration only of the Affections and Opinions of the Persons contending; neither could any thing be more properly said of them, than what *Tacitus* once spoke of the *Jews*, *apud Ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Volumes would not contain the instances. But they found the old Arguments of Popery, the Militia, and Delinquents, for the justification of the War, grew every day of less reverence with the People; and that as the King's own Religion was above any Scandal they could lay upon it, so the Regal Power seemed so asserted by Law, and the King, upon all occasions, cited particular Statutes for the Vindication of his Right, that whilst they confessed the Sovereign Power to be vested in him, all Legal Ministers had that dependance on him, that Their Authority would by degrees grow into Contempt.

The King
makes new
Sheriffs.

And of this disadvantage the season of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to course, pricked Sheriffs, and made such choice in all Counties, that they foresaw the People were not like to be so implicitly at their disposal. Therefore, as they had before craftily insinuated the same in some particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that the Sovereign Power was wholly and entirely in Them; and that the King himself, severed from

“ Them, had no Regal Power in him.” Their
Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and
wrested the Scripture to their sense; their Lawyers
were now to vindicate their Title, and they were
not more modest in applying Their Profession to
their Service. As all places of Scripture, or in the
Fathers, which were spoken of the Church of Christ,
are by the Papists applied to the Church of *Rome*;
so, whatsoever is written in any of the Books of the
Law, or mentioned in the Records, of the Autho-
rity and Effects of the Sovereign Power, and of the
Dignity and Jurisdiction of Parliament, was, by
these Men, alledged and urged for the Power of the
two Houses, and sometimes for the single Authority
of the House of Commons. Being supplied with the
Learning of these Gentlemen, they declared, “ that
“ the Sheriffs, then constituted by the King, were
“ not Legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be
“ submitted to in that Office;” and ordered, “ whom-
“ soever the King made Sheriff in any County, to
“ be sent for as Delinquent;” and because it seemed
unreasonable, that the Counties should be without
that Legal Minister, to whom the Law had intrusted
it’s Custody, it was proposed, “ that they might
“ make a new Great Seal, and by that Authority
“ make Sheriffs, and such other Officers as they
“ should find necessary; but for the present that Mo-
“ tion was laid aside.”

The King had appointed some of those Prisoners
who were taken in the Battle at *Keinton-Field*, and
others apprehended in the Act of Rebellion, to be
Indicted of High-Treason, upon the Statute of the

B O O K
VI.

25th year of King *Edward* the third, before the Lord Chief Justice, and other Learned Judges of the Law, by Virtue of his Majesty's Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: The Parliament declared "all
" such Indictments and all Proceedings thereupon,
" to be unjust, and illegal;" and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring (which was a stronger Argument) "that if any Man were
" executed, or suffered hurt, for any thing he had
" done by Their Order, the like punishment should
" be inflicted, by death or otherwise, upon such
" Prisoners as were, or should be, taken by Their
" Forces:" And, in none of their cases, ever asked the Judges what the Law was. By the determination of the Statute, and the King's refusal, which hath been mentioned before, to pass any new Law to that purpose, there was no farther duty of Tonnage and Poundage due upon Merchandize, and the Statute made this very Parliament involved all Men in the guilt and penalty of a *Præmunire*, who offered to receive it. The King published a Proclamation upon that Statute, and "required all Men to forbear paying that duty, and forbid all to receive
" it." They again declared, "that no Person, who
" received those duties by Virtue of Their Orders,
" was within the danger of a *Præmunire*, or any
" other penalty whatsoever; because the intent, and
" meaning of that Penal clause was only to restrain
" the Crown from imposing any duty or payment
" upon the Subjects, without their consent in Parliament; and was not intended to extend to any
" case whereunto the Lords and Commons give their
" assent in Parliament."

And that this Sovereignty might be farther taken notice of than within the Limits of this Kingdom, they sent, with all formality, Letters of Credence, and Instructions, and their Agents, into Foreign States, and Kingdoms.

By their Agent to the united Provinces, where the Queen was then residing, they had the Courage, in plain terms, to accuse the Prince of *Orange* “for supplying the King with Arms and Ammunition;” “for Licensing divers Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, to resort into this Kingdom to his aid.” They remembered them “of the great help that they had received from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavy oppression of their Princes; and how conducive the friendship of this Nation had been to their present greatness, and power; and therefore they could not think, that they would be forward to help to make Them Slaves, who had been so useful, and Assistant in making Them Free-men; or that they would forget, that their troubles and dangers issued from the same Fountain with their own; and that those who were set at work to undermine Religion, and Liberty in the Kingdom, were the same who by open force did seek to bereave Them of both.” They told them, “it could not be unknown to that wise State, that it was the Jesuitical Faction in this Kingdom, that had corrupted the Counsels of the King, the Consciences of a great part of the Clergy; which sought to destroy the Parliament, and had raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*.” They desired them therefore, “not to suffer any more

B O O K
VI.

The substance
of the De-
claration of
the Lords
and Commons
to the States
General of
the united
Provinces.

B O O K
VI.

“ Ordnance, Armour, or any other Warlike Pro-
“ vision, to be brought over to strengthen those,
“ who, as soon as they should prevail against the
“ Parliament, would use that strength to the ruin of
“ those from whom they had it.”

They desired them, “ they would not send over
“ any of their Country-men to farther Their de-
“ struction, who were sent to them for their prefer-
“ vation, that they would not anticipate the spilling
“ of *English* Blood, in an unnatural Civil War,
“ which had been so cheerfully and plentifully ha-
“ zarded, and spent, in that just and honorable
“ War by which they had been so long preserved,
“ and to which the Blood of those Persons, and
“ many other Subjects of this Kingdom was still in a
“ manner dedicated; but rather that they would
“ cashier, and discard from their employment, those
“ that would presume to come over for that pur-
“ pose.” They told them, “ the question between
“ his Majesty and the Parliament, was not whether
“ he should enjoy the same Prerogative, and Power,
“ which had belonged to their former Kings, his
“ Majesty’s Royal Predecessors; but whether that
“ Prerogative, and Power, should be employed to
“ their defence, or to their ruin: That it could
“ not be denied by those, who look indifferently
“ on their Proceedings and Affairs, that it would
“ be more honor, and wealth, safety and greatness
“ to his Majesty, in concurring with his Parliament,
“ than in the course in which he now is: But so
“ unhappy had his Majesty, and the Kingdom been,
“ in those who had the greatest influence upon his

“ Counfels, that they looked more upon the pre-
 “ vailing of their own Party, than upon any thofe
 “ great advantages both to his Crown, and Royal
 “ Perfon, which he might obtain by joining with
 “ his People: and fo cunning were thofe Factors
 “ for Popery, in profecution of their own aims,
 “ that they could put on a counterfeit Viſage of
 “ Honor, Peace, and Greatnefs, upon thofe courſes
 “ and counfels, which had no truth, and reality,
 “ but of Weaknefs, Diſhonor, and Miſeries to his
 “ Maſteſty, and the whole Kingdom.”

They ſaid, “ they had lately expreſſed their earneſt
 “ inclinations to that National love and amity with
 “ the United Provinces, which had been nourished
 “ and confirmed by ſo many civil reſpects, and
 “ mutual intereſts, as made it ſo natural to them,
 “ that they had, this Parliament, in their humble
 “ Petition to his Maſteſty, deſired, that they might
 “ bejoined with that State in a more near and ſtrait
 “ League, and Union: And they could not but
 “ expect ſome returns from Them, of the like ex-
 “ preſſions: and that they would be ſo far from
 “ blowing the fire, which begun to kindle among
 “ them, that they would rather endeavour to quench
 “ it, by ſtrengthening and encouraging them who
 “ had no other deſign but not to be deſtroyed, and
 “ to preſerve their Religion, ſave themſelves, and
 “ the other Reformed Churches of *Chriſtendom*,
 “ from the Maſſacres and Extirpations, with which
 “ the Principles of the Roman Religion did threaten
 “ them all; which were begun to be acted in *Ireland*,
 “ and in the Hopes, and Endeavours, and Inten-

B O O K
VI.

“ tions of that Party, had long since been executed
“ upon Them, if the Mercy, Favor, and Bless-
“ sing of Almighty God, had not superabounded,
“ and prevented the Subtlety and Malignity of cruel,
“ wicked, and blood-thirsty Men.”

With this specious despatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cause ungracious, and their own very plausible, their Agent, one *Strickland*, an obscure Gentleman, was received by the States; and, notwithstanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of *Orange* visibly inclined to assist the King with all his Interests, and the Interposition of the King's Resident, did not only hinder the States from giving the least countenance to the King's Cause, but really so corrupted the *English* in the Army, and in that Court, that there was nothing designed to advance it by the Prince of *Orange* himself (who with great generosity supplied the King with Arms and Ammunition to a very considerable Value) or by the private activity and dexterity of particular Persons, out of their own Fortune, or by the sale or pawning of Jewels, but intelligence was given soon enough to the Parliament, either to get stops, and seizures upon it, by Order of the State, or to intercept the supply by their Navy at Sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at Sea, than ever arrived at any Port within his Majesty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the Harbour of *New-Castle*. With the same success, they sent another Agent to *Brussels*, who prevailed with *Don Francisco de Melos*, then Govern-

or of *Flanders*, to discountenance always, and sometimes to prevent the preparations which were there making by the King's Ministers. And in *France* they had another Agent, one *Aulgier*, a Man long before in the constant pay of the Crown; who though he was not received, and avowed (to put the better varnish upon their Professions to the King) by that Crown, did them more service than either of the other; by how much more that People had an influence upon the distempers of the Three Kingdoms.

And as the Parliament made all these addressees to Foreign States, and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, so it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appeared concerned on the King's behalf. The *Spaniard* was sufficiently incensed by the King's reception of the Ambassadors of *Portugal*, and, which was more, entering into terms of Amity and League with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable assistance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and sent both Arms, and Money thither. And, since the extravagances of this Parliament, the Ambassador of *Spain* had made great application to them.

B O O K
VI.
The Inclinations of Foreign Kings, and States, in this cause, between the King and Parliament.

The *French*, according to their Nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in *Scotland* had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had carefully kept up, and enlarged the old Franchises of the *Scots* under that Crown; which made a very specious show of wonderful grace and benefit, at a distance, to that Nation, and was of little burden

B O O K
VI.

to the *French*; and, in truth, of little advantage to those who were in full possession of all those Privileges. Yet, by this means, the *French* have always had a very great influence upon the Affections of that People, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: As nothing was more visible than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all those late distempers in *Scotland* were carried on till his death, and, by His Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Ministers always making their correspondence, with, and relation to those who were taken Notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was understood to be in order only to the opposition of those Counsels, which should at any time be offered on the behalf of *Spain*.

Since the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Ambassador, Monsieur *la Ferté*, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who governed most in the two Houses; discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise to the prejudice of the King's Counsels and Resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himself on public occasions of State, and in his Master's Name, and to improve his Interest, to the two Houses of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the business of Transportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remembered; in which he caused, by the importunity of the two Houses, his Majesty's promise, and engagement to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to be rendered of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint

plaint to the two Houses against Sir *Thomas Rowe*, his Majesty's extraordinary Ambaffador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and restitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "that Sir *Thomas Rowe* had offered, on the King's part, to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with the House of *Austria*, and to wed all their Interests;" and, in plain terms, asked them, "whether They had given Sir *Thomas* instructions to that purpose?" expressing a great value his Master had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unusual civility, and to assure the *French* King, "that Sir *Thomas Rowe* had no such Instructions from Them; and that they would examine the truth of it; and would be careful that nothing should be done, and perfected in that Treaty which might reflect upon the good of the *French* King." Whereas in truth there was not the least ground, or pretence for that suggestion; Sir *Thomas Rowe* having never made any such offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expostulated with the *French* Ambaffador, for such an injurious, causeless information, he answered, "that his Master had received such advertisement, and had given him order to do what he did." So that it easily appeared, it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occasion to publish, that they would take any opportunity to resort to the two Houses, and thereby to flatter them in their usurpation of any Sovereign Authority.

B O O K

VI.

There is not a sadder consideration than this Passion, and Injustice, in Christian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Justice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are seldom so Solicitous that the Laws be executed, Justice administered, and Order performed within their own Kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed, and confounded amongst their Neighbours. And there is no sooner a spark of Diffension, a discomposure in Affections, a jealousy in Understandings, discerned to be in a Neighbour-Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmost Art and Industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unsettled humors, and jealous Apprehensions, into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and professed Rebellion. And they have rarely so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God's blessing upon them, as when they have been Instruments of drawing some notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they considered nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miserable: and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own Jurisdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath published to the world for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider, that God hath

placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be defended and protected by their Princes, so They themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another; the function of Kings being an Order by itself: and as a contempt and breach of every Law is, in the Policy of State, an Offence against the Person of the King, because there is a kind of violation offered to his Person in the transgression of that Rule without which he cannot govern: so the Rebellion of Subjects against their Prince ought to be looked upon, by all other Kings, as an Assault of their own Sovereignty, and, in some degree a design against Monarchy itself; and consequently to be suppressed, and extirpated, in what other Kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own Bowels.

Besides these indirect Artifices, and Activity before-mentioned in the *French* Ambassador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France* (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correspondence) were declared Enemies to the King; and, in public, and in secret, gave all possible Assistance to those whose business was to destroy the Church. And as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all these troubles, and of equal benefit to his Enemies; so the occasion, from whence those disaffections grew, was very unskillfully and imprudently administered by the State here. Not to speak of the business of *Rochelle*, which, though it stuck

B O O K VI. deep in all, yet most imputed the Counsels of that time to Men that were dead, and not to a fixed design of the Court; they had a greater Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was persecuted by the Church of *England*.

When the Reformation of Religion first begun in *England*, in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, very many, out of *Germany* and *France*, left their Countries, where the Reformation was severely persecuted, and transplanted Themselves, their Families, and Estates, into *England*, where they were received very hospitably. and that King, with great Piety and Policy, by several Acts of State, granted them many Indemnities, and the free use of Churches in *London* for the exercise of their Religion: whereby the number of them increased; and the benefit to the Kingdom, by such an access of Trade, and improvement of Manufactures, was very considerable. Which Queen *Elizabeth* finding, and well knowing that other notable uses of them might be made, enlarged their Privileges by new Concessions; drawing, by all means. great Numbers over, and suffering them to erect Churches, and to enjoy the exercise of their Religion after their own manner, and according to their own Ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their Trade, they chose to reside. And so they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other places of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of those places marvellously increased. And besides the benefit from thence, the Queen made use of them in her great Transactions of State

in *France*, and the Low-Countries, and by the mediation and interposition of those People, kept an useful Interest in that Party, in all the Foreign Dominions where they were tolerated. The same Charters of Liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the beginning of this King's Reign, although, it may be, the politic considerations in those Concessions, and Connivances, were neither made use of, nor understood.

Some few years before these Troubles, when the power of Church-Men grew more transcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Understanding of the Lay-Counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive (for without the last, the first could have done no hurt) the Bishops grew jealous that the countenancing another Discipline of the Church here, by Order of the State (for those Foreign Congregations were governed by a Presbytery according to the Custom, and Constitution of those parts of which they had been Natives: the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, had the free use of several Churches according to their own discipline) would at least diminish the Reputation and Dignity of the Episcopal Government, and give some countenance to the Faction, and Schismatical Party in *England* to hope for such a toleration.

Then there wanted not some fiery, turbulent, and contentious Persons of the same Congregations, who, upon private differences and contests, were ready to inform against their Brethren, and to discover, what, they thought, might prove of most

B O O K
VI.

prejudice to them ; so that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the Liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the Notion of Foreigners, many *English* separated themselves from the Church, and joined themselves to those Congregations (which possibly was in part true) the Council-Board connived at, or interposed not, whilst the Bishops did some Acts of Restraint, with which those Congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the Liberty of their Consciences to be taken from them; which caused in *London* much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Diocese of *Norwich*; where Dr. *Wren*, the Bishop there, passionately, and warmly proceeded against them: so that many left the Kingdom, to the lessening the Wealthy Manufacture there of Kerseys, and narrow Cloths, and, which was worse, transporting that mystery into Foreign Parts.

And that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the Civil Policy of the Kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Ambassadors, and all Foreign Ministers of State, employed from *England* into any parts where the Reformed Religion was exercised, frequented their Churches, gave all possible Countenance to their profession, and held correspondence with the most active, and powerful Persons of that relation, and particularly, the Ambassador Lieger at *Paris* had diligently, and constantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair intercourse with those of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by which they had still received advantage, that People being

industrious and active to get into the secrets of the State, and so deriving all necessary Intelligence to those whom they desired to gratify: The contrary to this was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the Ambassadors there, “to forbear any extraordinary commerce with the Men of that profession.” And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the last Ordinary Ambassador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by advice from others. not only declined going to *Charenton*, but furnished his own Chapel, in his House, with such Ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion-Table and the like) as gave great offence, and umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not seen the like; besides that he was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by himself, and those who had the nearest relation to him, “that the Church of *England* looked not “on the *Hugonots* as a part of their Communion;” which was likewise too much, and too industriously discoursed at home.

They of the Church of *England* who committed the greatest errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the least thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery as hath been uncharitably conceived: But (having too just cause given them to dislike the Passion, and Licence, that was taken by some Persons in the Reformed Churches, under the Notion of Conscience, and Religion, to the disturbance of the Peace of Kingdoms) unskillfully believed, that the Total decli-

B O O K
VI.

ning the Interest of that Party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of Reformation, would make this Church of *England* looked upon with more reverence; and that thereby the Common Adversary, the Papist, would abate somewhat of his arrogance, and superciliousness; and that both Parties, piously considering the Charity which Religion should beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness, and uncharitableness of Contention in matters of opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Christians and Subjects. Thus, contracting their considerations in too narrow a compass, these Men contented themselves with their Pious Intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of Policy. And some of our own Communion, who differed with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reasons, rather confirmed than reformed them in their Inclinations: Neither of them discerning the true, and substantial grounds of that Policy, upon which that good correspondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: And so the Church of *England*, not giving the same Countenance to those of the Religion in Foreign Parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a Cloud at home; but those of the Religion abroad, were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the Course of our History;

After all discourses and motions for Peace were, for a time, laid aside; and new thoughts of Victory, and utterly subduing the King's Party, again entertained; they found one trouble falling upon them which they had least suspected, want of Money; all their vast Sums collected, upon any former Bills, passed by the King for the relief of *Ireland*, and payment of the debt to the *Scots*, and all their Money upon Subscriptions of Plate, and Loans upon the public Faith which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite wasted; and their constant expence was so great, that no Ordinary supply would serve their turn; and they easily discerned, that their Money only, and not their Cause, procured them Soldiers of all kinds; and that They could never support their Power, if their Power was not able to supply Them. All voluntary Loans were at an end, and the public Faith thought a security not to be relied on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by so much the more fatal would the sinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more Vigor to be resisted. In the end, they resolved upon the thorough execution of their full Sovereign Power, and to let the People see what they might trust to; in which it is necessary to observe the Arts, and Degrees of their motion.

They first ordered, " that Committees should be
 " named in all Counties, to take care for Provisions
 " of Victuals for the Army, and also for the taking
 " up of Horses for service in the Field, Dragoons
 " and draught Horses, and for borrowing of Money
 " and Plate to supply the Army: and upon Certifi-

New ways of
 raising Money
 by the two
 Houses.

B O O K
VI.

“ cate from those Committees ” (who had power to
set what Value or Rates they pleased upon these
Provisions of any kind) “ the same should be entered
“ with their Treasurer , who should hereafter repay
“ the same. It was then alledged , that this would
“ only draw supplies from their friends , and the
“ well affected ; and that others , who either liked
“ not their proceedings , or loved their Money
“ better than the Liberty of their Country , would
“ not contribute . ” Upon this it was ordered , “ that
“ in case the Owners refused to bring in Money ,
“ Provisions , Plate , and Horse , upon the public
“ Faith , for the use of the Army ; for the better
“ preventing the spoil , and embezzling of such Pro-
“ visions of Money , Plate , and Horses , by the
“ disorder of the Soldiers , and that they may not
“ come into the hands of the Enemies , that the
“ Committees , or any two of them , should be au-
“ thorized , and enabled to send for such Provisions ,
“ Money , Plate , and Horses ; and to take the same
“ into their Custody , and to set indifferent value
“ and rate upon them ; which value they should
“ certify to the Treasurers , for the proportions to
“ be repaid at such time , and in such manner , as
“ should be ordered by both Houses of Parliament .

This was done only to show what they meant to
do over all *England* , and as a stock of credit to them.
For at present it would neither supply their wants ;
neither was it seasonable for them , or indeed possi-
ble to endeavour the execution of it in many Coun-
ties. *London* was the place from whence only their
present help must come. To them therefore they de-

clared, “ that the King’s Army had made divers Assess-
“ ments upon several Counties, and the Subjects
“ were compelled, by the Soldiers, to pay the same;
“ which Army, if it continued, would soon ruin,
“ and waste the whole Kingdom; and overthrow
“ Religion, Law, and Liberty: That there was no
“ probable way, under God, for the suppressing
“ that Army, and other ill affected Persons, but by
“ the Army raised by the Authority of the Parlia-
“ ment; which Army could not be maintained,
“ without great Sums of Money; and for raising
“ such Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament
“ passed with his Majesty’s Assent, albeit there was
“ great Justice that such Money should be raised:
“ That, hitherto, the Army had been, for the most
“ part, maintained by the voluntary contributions
“ of well affected People, who had freely contribu-
“ ted according to their Abilities: That there were
“ divers others within the Cities of *London* and *West-*
“ *minster*, and the Suburbs, that had not contributed
“ at all towards the maintenance of that Army, or if
“ they had, yet not answerable to their Estates; who
“ notwithstanding received benefit, and Protection
“ by the same Army, as well as any others; and
“ therefore it was most just, that They should, as
“ well as others, be charged to contribute to the
“ maintenance thereof.

Upon these grounds, and reasons, it was ordained
“ by the Authority of Parliament, that *Isaac Pen-*
“ *nington*, the then Lord Mayor of *London*, and
“ some other Aldermen, and Citizens, or any four
“ of them, should have Power and Authority to

B O O K
VI.

“ Nominate, and Appoint, in every Ward, within
 “ the City of *London* six such Persons as they should
 “ think fit, who should have power to inquire of
 “ all who had not contributed upon the Propositions
 “ concerning the raising of Money, Plate, &c. and
 “ of such able Men, who had contributed, yet not
 “ according to their Estates, and Abilities; and
 “ those Persons so substituted, or any four of them,
 “ within their several Wards and Limits, should
 “ have power to Assess all Persons of Ability who
 “ had not contributed, and also those who had con-
 “ tributed, yet not according to their Ability, to
 “ pay such Sums of Money, according to their
 “ Estates, as the Assessors, or any four of them should
 “ think reasonable, so as the same exceeded not the
 “ twentieth part of their Estates; and to nominate
 “ fit Persons for the receipt thereof. And if any Per-
 “ son so Assessed should refuse to pay the Money so
 “ Assessed upon him, it should be Lawful for the
 “ Assessors, and Collectors, to levy that Sum by way
 “ of distress, and sale of the goods of Persons so re-
 “ fusing. And if any Person distrained should make
 “ resistance, it should be Lawful for the Assessors,
 “ and Collectors, to call to their Assistance any of
 “ the Trained-bands of *London*, or any other of his
 “ Majesty’s Subjects; who were required to be aid-
 “ ing, and assisting to them. The Burgesses of *West-*
 “ *minster*, and *Southwark*, and a Committee ap-
 “ pointed to that purpose, were to do the same
 “ within those Limits, as the other in *London*.

And that there might be no stratagem to avoid this
 Tax (so strange and unlooked for) by a second Ordi-

nance in explanation of the former, They ordained,
“ that, if no sufficient distress could be found for the
“ payment of what should be Assessed, the Collec-
“ tors should have power to inquire of any Sum of
“ Money due to those Persons so Assessed, from
“ what Persons soever, for Rents, Goods, or Debts,
“ or for any other thing, or cause whatsoever. And
“ the Collectors had power to receive all such Debts,
“ until the full Value of the Sums so Assessed, and
“ the Charges in levying or recovering the same
“ should be satisfied: and lest the discovery of those
“ Debts might be difficult, the same Collectors had
“ power to compound for any Rents, Goods, or
“ Debts, due to such Persons so Assessed, with any
“ Person by whom the same was due, and to give
“ full discharges for the Money so compounded for,
“ which should be good and effectual to all purposes.
“ And if the Money Assessed could not be levied by
“ any of these ways, then the Persons Assessed should
“ be imprisoned in such places of the Kingdom,
“ and for so long time, as the Committee of the
“ House of Commons for examinations should ap-
“ point, and order; and the Families of all such
“ Persons so imprisoned should no longer remain
“ within the Cities of *London*, or *Westminster*, the
“ Suburbs, or the Counties adjacent. And all Asses-
“ sors, and Collectors, should have the protection
“ of both Houses of Parliament, for their Indemnity
“ in that Service, and receive allowance for their
“ pains, and charges” Several additional, and ex-
planatory Orders they made for the better execution
of this grand one, by every of which some clause of

B O O K
VI.

severity, and monstrous irregularity was added, and for the complement of all, they ordered that themselves, the Members of either House, should not be Assessed by any but themselves.

The truth is, the King was not sorry to see this Ordinance, which he thought so prodigious, that he should have been a greater Gainer by it than they that made it; seeing it was so palpable, and clear a demonstration of the Tyranny the People were to live under, that they would easily have discerned the change of their condition: yet he took so much pains, to awaken his Subjects to a due apprehension of it, and to apply the thorough consideration of it to them, that he published a Declaration upon that Ordinance; the which, presenting many things to them, which have since fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inserted in the King's own words, which were these:

His Majesty's
Declaration
upon occasion
of the former
Ordinance.

“ It would not be believed (at least great pains
“ have been taken that it might not) that the pre-
“ tended Ordinance of the Militia (the first attempt
“ that ever was, to make a Law by Ordinance, with-
“ out Our consent) or the keeping Us out of *Hull*,
“ and taking Our Arms and Ammunition from Us,
“ could any way concern the Interest, Property, or
“ Liberty of the Subject: And it was confessed, by
“ that desperate Declaration itself of the 26th of *May*,
“ that if they were found guilty of that charge of
“ destroying the Title and Interest of Our Subjects
“ to their Lands, and Goods, it were indeed a very
“ great crime. But it was a strange fatal Lethargy
“ which had seized Our good People, and kept

“ them from discerning that the Nobility, Gentry,
“ and Commonalty of *England*, were not only
“ stripped of their Pre-eminences, and Privileges, but
“ of their Liberties, and Estates, when Our just
“ Rights were denied Us; and that no Subject could
“ from thenceforth expect to dwell at home, when
“ We were driven from Our Houses, and Our
“ Towns. It was not possible, that a Commission
“ could be granted to the Earl of *Essex*, to raise an
“ Army against Us, and, for the safety of Our Per-
“ son, and preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom,
“ to pursue, kill, and slay Us, and all who wish well
“ to Us: But that, in a short time, inferior Com-
“ manders, by the same Authority, would require
“ Our good Subjects, for the maintenance of the
“ property of the Subject, to supply them with such
“ Sums of Money as they think fit, upon the penalty
“ of being plundered with all extremity of War (as
“ the Title of Sir *Edward Bainton's* Warrant runs
“ against Our poor Subjects in *Wiltshire*) and by
“ such Rules of unlimited Arbitrary Power as are in-
“ consistent with the least pretence or shadow of that
“ property, it would seem to defend.

“ If there could be yet any Understanding so
“ unskilful and supine to believe, that these Dis-
“ turbors of the Public Peace do intend any thing
“ but a general Confusion, they have brought them
“ a sad argument to their own doors to convince
“ them. After this Ordinance and Declaration, it
“ is not in any sober Man's power to believe him-
“ self to be worth any thing, or that there is such a
“ thing as Law, Liberty, or Property, left in *Eng-*

B O O K
VI.

“ *land*, under the jurisdiction of these Men. And the
“ same power that robs them now of the twentieth
“ part of their Estates, hath, by that, but made
“ a claim, and entitled itself to the other nineteen,
“ when it shall be thought fit to hasten the general
“ Ruin. Sure, if the minds of all Men be not stub-
“ bornly prepared for Servitude, they will look on
“ this Ordinance, as the greatest Prodigy of Arbi-
“ trary Power and Tyranny, that any Age hath
“ brought forth in any Kingdom. Other Grievances
“ (and the greatest) have been conceived intolerable,
“ rather by the Logic and Consequence, than
“ by the pressure itself: This, at once sweeps away
“ all that the Wisdom, and Justice of Parliaments
“ have provided for them. Is their Property in their
“ Estates (so carefully looked to by their Ancestors,
“ and so amply established by Us, against any possi-
“ bility of Invasion from the Crown) which makes
“ the meanest Subject as much a Lord of his own as
“ the greatest Peer, to be valued, or considered?
“ Here is a twentieth part of every Man's Estate, or
“ so much as four Men will please to call the twen-
“ tieth part, taken away at once, and yet a power
“ left to take a twentieth still of that which remains:
“ and this to be levied by such circumstances of Se-
“ verity, as no Act of Parliament ever consented to.
“ Is their Liberty, which distinguishes Subjects
“ from Slaves, and in which this Freeborn Nation
“ hath the advantage of all *Christendom*, dear to
“ them? They shall not only be imprisoned in such
“ places of this Kingdom (a latitude of Judgment no
“ Court can challenge to itself in any Cases) but for

“ so long time, as the Committee of the House of
“ Commons for examination shall appoint and
“ order: The House of Commons itself having
“ never assumed, or in the least degree pretended
“ to, a power of Judicature; having no more Au-
“ thority to administer an Oath, the only way to dis-
“ cover and find out the truth of Facts, than to cut off
“ the Heads of any of Our Subjects: And this Com-
“ mittee being so far from being a part of the Parlia-
“ ment, that it is destructive to the Whole, by usur-
“ ping to itself all the power of King, Lords, and
“ Commons. All who know any thing of Parlia-
“ ments know that a Committee of either House
“ ought not, by the Law, to publish their own Re-
“ sults; neither are their conclusions of any Force,
“ without the confirmation of the House, which
“ hath the same power of Controlling them, as if
“ the matter had never been debated. But that any
“ Committee should be so contracted (as this of Exa-
“ mination, a style no Committee ever bore before
“ this Parliament) as to exclude the Members of the
“ House, who are equally trusted by their Country,
“ from being present at the Counsels, is so monstrous
“ to the Privileges of Parliament, that it is no more
“ in the power of any Man to give up that Freedom,
“ than of himself to order, that, from that time,
“ the place for which he Serves shall never more send
“ a Knight or Burgeſs to the Parliament; and in
“ truth is no less than to alter the whole frame of
“ Government, to pull up Parliaments by the Roots,
“ and to commit the Lives, Liberties, and Estates,
“ of all the People of *England* to the Arbitrary power

B O O K
VI.

B O O K
VI.

“ of a few unqualified Persons , who shall dispose
“ thereof according to their discretion , without
“ account to any Rule or Authority whatsoever.

“ Are their Friends, their Wives , and Children ,
“ the greatest blessings of Peace , and Comforts of
“ Life, precious to them ? Would their penury, and
“ imprisonment be less grievous by those Cordials ?
“ They shall be divorced from them, banished, and
“ shall no longer remain within the Cities of *London*,
“ and *Westminster* , the Suburbs and the Counties
“ adjacent , and how far those adjacent Counties
“ shall extend no Man knows. Is there now any
“ thing left to enjoy but the Liberty , to Rebel, and
“ destroy one another ? Are the outward blessings
“ only of Peace, Property, and Liberty, taken and
“ forced from our Subjects ? Are their Consciences
“ free and unassaulted by the Violence of these Fire-
“ brands ? Sure the Liberty and Freedom of Con-
“ science cannot suffer by these Men. Alas ! all these
“ punishments are imposed upon them, because they
“ will not submit to Actions contrary to their natural
“ Loyalty, to their Oaths of Allegiance, and
“ Supremacy , and to their late voluntary Protestation,
“ which obliges them to the care of our Person,
“ and our just Rights.

“ How many Persons of Honor, Quality , and
“ Reputation, of the several Counties of *England* ,
“ are now imprisoned, without any objections against
“ them , but suspicion of their Loyalty ? How many
“ of the gravest , and most substantial Citizens of
“ *London*, by whom the Government and Discipline
“ of that City was preserved , are disgraced robbed,

“ and imprisoned, without any Proceſs of Law, or
“ Color of Accuſation, but of obedience to the
“ Laws, and Government of the Kingdom? Whiſt
“ *Anabatists*, and *Brownists*, with the Aſſiſtance of
“ vicious and debauched Perſons of deſperate For-
“ tunes, take upon them to break up and riſſe Houſes,
“ as public and avowed Miniſters of a new-invented
“ Authority. How many Godly, Pious, and Painful
“ Divines, whoſe Lives and Learning have made
“ them of Reverend Eſtimation, are now ſlandered
“ with inclination to Popery, diſcountenanced, and
“ imprisoned, for diſcharging their Conſciences, in-
“ ſtructing the People in the Chriſtian duty of Re-
“ ligion and Obedience? Whiſt Schiſmatical, Illite-
“ rate, and Scandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits
“ and Churches with Blaſphemy, Irreverence, and
“ Treafon; and incite their Auditory to nothing but
“ Murder, and Rebellion.

“ We paſs over the Vulgar Charm, by which
“ they have captivated ſuch who have been con-
“ tented to diſpenſe with their Conſciences for the
“ Preſervation of their Eſtates, and by which they
“ perſuade Men cheerfully to part with this twentieth
“ part of their Eſtates to the good work in hand. For
“ whoſoever will give what he hath may eſcape
“ Robbing. They ſhall be repaid upon the Public
“ Faith, as all other Monies lent upon the Propoſi-
“ tions of Both Houſes. It may be ſo. But Men muſt
“ be condemned to a ſtrange unthriftineſs, who will
“ lend upon ſuch Security. The Public Faith indeed
“ is as great an earneſt as the State can give, and en-
“ gages the Honor, Reputation, and Honesty of

B O O K

VI.

“ the Nation , and is the Act of the Kingdom : It is
“ the Security of the King , the Lords , and Com-
“ mons, which can never need an Executor , can
“ never die , never be bankrupt ; and therefore We
“ willingly consented to it for the indemnity of Our
“ good Subjects of *Scotland* (who , We hope , will
“ not think the worse of it for being so often , and
“ so cheaply mentioned since) But that a Vote of
“ One , or Both Houses , should be an Engagement
“ upon the Public Faith , is as impossible , as that
“ the Committee of the House of Commons for Exa-
“ minations should be the High-Court of Parliament-
“ And what is , or can be said , with the least
“ shadow of Reason, to justify these extravagancies ?
“ We have not heard lately of the fundamental Laws,
“ which used to Warrant the Innovations: these
“ need a refuge even below those foundations. They
“ will say, they cannot manage their great Under-
“ takings without such extraordinary ways. We
“ think so too. But that proves only, they have
“ undertaken somewhat they ought not to under-
“ take , not that it is lawful for them to do any thing
“ that is convenient for those ends. We remembered
“ them long ago , and We cannot do it too often ,
“ of that excellent Speech of Mr. *Pym's*, The Law
“ is that which puts a difference betwixt Good and
“ Evil , Just and Unjust : If you take away the Law ,
“ all things will be in a confusion , every Man will
“ become a Law unto himself; which , in the
“ depraved condition of human Nature, must needs
“ produce many great Enormities. Lust will become
“ a Law, and Envy will become a Law, Covetousness

“ and Ambition will become Laws; and what
 “ dictates, what decision such Laws will produce
 “ may easily be discerned. It may indeed by sad In-
 “ stances over the whole Kingdom.

“ But will Posterity believe, that, in the same
 “ Parliament, this Doctrine was avowed with that
 “ Acclamation, and these Instances after produced ?
 “ That in the same Parliament, such care was taken
 “ that no Man should be committed in what case
 “ soever, without the cause of his imprisonment
 “ expressed; and that all Men should be immediately
 “ Bailed in all casesailable; and, during the same
 “ Parliament, that Alderman *Pennington*, or indeed
 “ any body else, but the sworn Ministers of Justice,
 “ should imprison whom they would, and for what
 “ they would, and for as long time as they would ?
 “ That the King should be reproached with breach
 “ of Privilege, for accusing Sir *John Hotham* of High-
 “ Treason, when with force of Arms he kept him
 “ out of *Hull*, and despised him to his face, because
 “ in no case a Member of either House might be com-
 “ mitted, or accused without leave of that House of
 “ which he is a Member; and yet that during the
 “ same Parliament, the same Alderman shall commit
 “ the Earl of *Middlesex*, a Peer of the Realm, and
 “ the Lord *Buckhurst*, a Member of the House of
 “ Commons, to the Counter, without reprehension ?
 “ That to be a Traytor (which is defined, and every
 “ Man understands) should be no crime, and to be
 “ called Malignant, which no body knows the
 “ meaning of, should be ground enough for close
 “ imprisonment ? That a Law should be made, that

B O O K
VI.

“ whosoever should presume to take Tonnage and
“ Poundage without an Act of Parliament, should
“ incur the penalty of a Præmunire, and, in the same
“ Parliament, that the same imposition should be
“ laid upon Our Subjects, and taken by Order of
“ both Houses, without, and against Our consent?
“ Lastly, that, in the same Parliament, a Law should
“ be made to declare the Proceedings, and Judge-
“ ment upon Ship-money to be illegal, and void;
“ and, during that Parliament, that an Order of
“ both Houses shall, upon pretence of necessity,
“ enable four Men to take away the twentieth part
“ of their Estates from all their Neighbours, accord-
“ ing to their discretion.

“ But Our good Subjects will no longer look
“ upon these and the like results, as upon the Counsels
“ and Conclusions of both Our Houses of Parliament
“ (though all the world knows, even That Authority
“ can never justify things unwarrantable by the Law)
“ They well know how few of the Persons trusted
“ by them, are trusted at Their consultations, of
“ above five hundred of the Commons not four-
“ score: and of the House of Peers, not a fifth part:
“ That they who are present enjoy not the Privilege
“ and Freedom of Parliament, but are besieged by
“ an Army, and awed by the same Tumults which
“ drove Us, and their fellow Members from thence,
“ to consent to what some few seditious, schismatical
“ Persons among them do propose. These are the
“ Men, who joining with the *Anabaptists*, and
“ *Brownists* of *London*, first changed the Government
“ and discipline of that City; and now, by the pride

“ and power of that City, would undo the Kingdom:
 “ whilst their Lord Mayor, a Person accused and
 “ known to be guilty of High-Treason, by a
 “ new Legislative Power of his own, suppresses,
 “ and reviles the Book of Common-Prayer, robs and
 “ imprisons whom he thinks fit; and, with the Rabble
 “ of his Faction, gives Laws to both Houses of
 “ Parliament, and tells them, *They will have no*
 “ *Accommodation*: whilst the Members sent, and in-
 “ trusted by their Counties, are expelled the House,
 “ or committed, for refusing to take the Oath of
 “ Association to live and die with the Earl of *Essex*, as
 “ very lately Sir *Sidney Mountague*. These are the
 “ Men who have presumed to send Ambassadors,
 “ and to enter into Treaties with Foreign States in
 “ their own behalfs, having at this time an Agent of
 “ their own with the States of *Holland*, to negotiate
 “ for them upon private Instructions: These are the
 “ Men who not thinking they have yet brought
 “ Mischief enough unto this Kingdom, at this time
 “ invite, and solicit Our Subjects of *Scotland*, to
 “ enter this Land with an Army against Us: In a
 “ word, these are the Men who have made this last
 “ devouring Ordinance to take away all Law,
 “ Liberty, and Property from our People, and have
 “ by it really acted that upon our People, which with
 “ infinite Malice, and no Color, or Ground, was
 “ labored to be infused into them, to have been
 “ Our intention by the Commissions of Array.

“ We have done: What Power and Authority
 “ these Men have, or will have, We know not:
 “ For Ourselves, We challenge none such. We look

B O O K
VI.

“ upon the Pressures and Inconveniencies our good
“ Subjects bear, even by Us, and Our Army (which
“ the Army first raised by them enforced Us to raise
“ in Our defence, and their refusal of all offers and
“ desires of Treaty enforceth Us to keep) with very
“ much sadness of heart. We are so far from requiring
“ a twentieth part of their Estates, though for their
“ own visible preservation, that, as We have already
“ sold or pawned our own Jewels, and Coined our
“ own Plate, so We are willing to sell all our own
“ Lands and Houses for their relief: Yet We do
“ not doubt but Our good Subjects will seriously
“ consider Our condition, and their own duties, and
“ think our readiness to protect them with the utmost
“ hazard of our Life, deserves their readiness to
“ assist Us with some part of Their fortunes; and
“ whilst other Men give a twentieth part of their
“ Estates to enable them to forfeit the other nineteen,
“ that they will extend themselves to Us in a liberal,
“ and free proportion, for the preservation of the
“ rest, and for the maintenance of God’s true Reli-
“ gion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the
“ Subject, and the Safety, and very Being of Parlia-
“ ments, and this Kingdom: For if all these ever
“ were, or can be, in manifest danger, it is now in
“ this present Rebellion against Us.

“ Lastly, We will and require all Our loving
“ Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, as
“ they will Answer it to God, to Us, and to Pos-
“ terity, by their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supre-
“ macy; as they would not be looked upon now,
“ and remembered hereafter, as Betrayers of the

“ Laws and Liberties they were born to; that they
“ in no degree submit to this wild pretended Or-
“ dinance, and that they presume not to give any
“ Encouragement, or Assistance to the Army now
“ in Rebellion against Us; which if notwithstand-
“ ing they shall do, they must expect from Us the
“ severest punishment the Law can inflict, and a per-
“ petual Infamy with all good Men.”

Whatsoever every Man could say to another against that Ordinance, and whatsoever the King said to them all against it, it did bring in a great supply of Money, and gave them a stock of Credit to borrow more; so that the Army was again drawn out, though but to Winter-Quarters, twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Essex* fixed his head Quarters at *Windsor*, to straiten the King's new Garrison at *Reading*, and sent strong Parties still abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reasonably be expected; that is, brought those adjacent Counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at least have kept themselves Neutral: And still persuaded the People, “ that their work was even at an end,
“ and that the King's Forces would be swallowed up
“ in a very short time:” so that there was no day, in which they did not publish themselves to have obtained some notable Victory, or taken some Town, when in truth each Party wisely abstained from disturbing the other: Yet the Bulk of their supply came only from the City of *London*. For though their Ordinance extended over the whole Kingdom, they had power to execute it only there;

B O O K VI. for it was not yet time to try the Affections of all places within their own Verge, with the severe exercise of that Authority.

And therefore divers of the Wealthiest and most Substantial Citizens of *London*, observing liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houses, and the Multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from those Multitudes and that Authority, the brand to have been laid upon the City, “of being an Enemy to Peace,” met together, and prepared a very modest and moderate Petition to the Houses; in which they desired “such Propositions and Addresses might be made by Them to his Majesty, as he might with his Honor comply with, and thereby a happy Peace ensue;” which, being signed by many thousand hands, was ready to be presented, but was not received by the House of Commons, for no other reason publicly given, but “that it was prepared by a Multitude;” and objections were framed against the principal Promoters of it, upon other pretences of Delinquency; so that they were compelled to forsake the Town, and that Party were, for the present, discountenanced.

At the same time the Inhabitants of *Westminster*, *St. Martin's*, and *Covent-Garden*, who always underwent the Imputation of being well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the same reproach, being strictly inhibited to approach the Houses with more than six in Company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they easily discerned those humors,

thus obstructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again resumed all professions of a desire of Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propositions to be sent to the King to that purpose; and because they found that would be a work of time (for the reasons which will be anon remembered) and that many Arts were to be applied to the several affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the City desired Peace upon any other Terms than They did, and the disadvantage that accrued to them by such imagination, and also to stay the appetite of those who were importunate to have any advance made towards Peace, having procured, by the Activity of their Agents and Ministers, to have such a Common-Council chosen for the City, as would undoubtedly comply with their desires and designs, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in such a Petition to his Majesty, as, carrying the sense and reputation of the whole City, might yet signify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houses; and so a Petition was framed in these words:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;
*The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and
 Commons of the City of London.*

A Petition
 of the City
 to the King.

“ Sheweth,

“ That the Petitioners, your Majesty's most
 “ humble and Loyal Subjects, being much pierced
 “ with the long and great divisions between your
 “ Majesty and both your Houses of Parliament, and
 “ with the sad and bloody effects thereof, both

BOOK
VI.

“ here, and in *Ireland*, are yet more deeply wounded
“ by the misapprehension, which your Majesty
“ seemeth to entertain of the Love and Loyalty of
“ this your City, as if there were some cause of
“ fear, or suspicion of danger to your Royal Person
“ if your Majesty should return hither; and that
“ this is made the unhappy bar to that blessed Re-
“ conciliation with your Great and most Faithful
“ Council for preventing that desolation, and de-
“ struction, which is now most apparently imminent
“ to your Majesty, and all your Kingdoms.

“ For satisfaction therefore of your Majesty, and
“ clearing of the Petitioners innocency, they most
“ humbly declare, as formerly they have done,
“ That they are no way conscious of any disloyalty,
“ but abhor all thoughts thereof; and that they
“ are resolved to make good their late solemn Pro-
“ testation, and sacred Vow, made to Almighty
“ God; and, with the last drop of their dearest
“ bloods, to defend, and maintain the true Reformed
“ Protestant Religion, and, according to the duty
“ of their Allegiance, your Majesty's Royal Person,
“ Honor, and Estate (whatsoever is maliciously and
“ falsely suggested to your Majesty to the contrary)
“ as well as the Power, and Privileges of Parliament,
“ and the Lawful Rights and Liberty of the Sub-
“ ject: And do hereby engage Themselves, their
“ Estates, and all they have, to their utmost power,
“ to defend and preserve your Majesty, and both
“ Houses of Parliament, from all Tumults, Affronts,
“ and Violence, with as much Loyalty, Love, and
“ Duty, as ever Citizens expressed towards your

“ Majesty, or any of your Royal Progenitors in
“ their greatest glory. B O O K
VI.

“ The Petitioners therefore, upon their bended
“ Knees, do most humbly beseech your Majesty,
“ to return to your Parliament (accompanied with
“ your Royal, not Martial attendance) to the end
“ that Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be set-
“ tled, and secured, and whatsoever is amiss in
“ Church, and Common-wealth, reformed by
“ Their advice, according to the fundamental Con-
“ stitutions of this Kingdom: And that such a Peace
“ may thereby be obtained, as shall be for the glory
“ of God, the Honor, and Happiness of your Ma-
“ jesty, and Posterity, and Welfare of all your
“ Loyal Subjects; who (the Petitioners are fully
“ assured) whatsoever is given out to the contrary,
“ do unanimously desire the Peace herein ex-
“ pressed.”

Though this Petition was in effect no other than to desire the King to disband his Army, and to put himself into the absolute disposal of the Parliament, and therefore all wise Men concluded that no great Progress would be made by it towards Peace; yet so sotted and infatuated were the People, that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to submit to another Subscription for Money, and Plate, for the necessary Provision of Arms, Ammunition, and Pay of their Army, until their disbanding and return home to their several Counties: that so they might not be occasioned, through want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the way homewards, after their discharge and dismissal. So

B O O K VI. that Men were persuaded that this was now the last Tax they should be invited to, though every one of those Ordinances and Declarations loaded the King with some new calumnies, and reproaches, that it was plain the Authors of them meant not so soon to put themselves under his Subjection.

This Petition was, about the tenth of *January* 1642, presented to the King at *Oxford*, by some Aldermen, and others of the Common-Council, who were for the most part of moderate Inclinations. The King considered sadly what Answer to return; for, albeit it appeared that the Petition had been craftily framed by those who had no thoughts of Peace, and that there was no Argument in it to hope any good from that People; yet there were, to Vulgar Understandings, very specious and popular Professions of great Piety, and Zeal to his service, and care of his security; and he was to be very tender in seeming to doubt the Inclinations, and Affections of that City, by whose strength chiefly the War was supported, and that strength procured by corrupting those Affections: And therefore the King was not sorry to have this opportunity of saying somewhat, and communicating himself freely to the City, being persuaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from misinformation than any general, or habitual Malice in them. All his Proclamations, Messages, and Declarations, had been with so much industry suppressed there, that they were not in truth generally informed of the matter of Fact, and the Justice of the King's cause; and therefore he was persuaded that if he enlarged himself, in his

Answer to this Petition, and exposed those few Men who were most notoriously Malignant against the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be so, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at least lessen their Power and Ability to do hurt; and so he resolved to return an Answer to them in these words:

“ That his Majesty doth not entertain any misap-
 “ prehension of the Love, and Loyalty of his City
 “ of *London*; as he hath always expressed a singular
 “ regard and esteem of the Affections of that City,
 “ and is still desirous to make it his chief place of
 “ residence, and to continue, and renew many
 “ Marks of his favor to it; so he believes, much
 “ the better and greater part of that his City is full
 “ of Love, Duty, and Loyalty to his Majesty; and
 “ that the Tumults which heretofore forced his
 “ Majesty, for his safety, to leave that place, though
 “ they were contrived and encouraged by some
 “ principal Members thereof (who are since well
 “ known, though they are above the reach of
 “ Justice) consisted more of desperate Persons of the
 “ Suburbs, and the neighbouring Towns (who
 “ were misled too by the cunning and malice of their
 “ Seducers) than of the Inhabitants of that City.
 “ He looks on his good Subjects there as Persons
 “ groaning under the same burden which doth
 “ oppress his Majesty, and awed by the same Persons
 “ who begot those Tumults, and the same Army
 “ which gave Battle to his Majesty: And therefore,
 “ as no good Subject can more desire, from his
 “ Soul, a composure of the general Distractions;

The King's
Answer.

B O O K
VI.

“ so no good Citizen can more desire the establiſh-
“ ment of the particular Peace, and Prosperity of
“ that place, by his Majesty’s access thither, than
“ his Majesty himself doth.

“ But his Majesty desires his good Subjects of
“ *London*, seriously to consider, what confidence
“ his Majesty can have of security there, whilst the
“ Laws of the Land are so notoriously despised, and
“ trampled under foot, and the wholesome Govern-
“ ment of that City, heretofore so famous over all
“ the world, is now submitted to the Arbitrary
“ Power of a few desperate Persons, of no reputa-
“ tion, but for malice and disloyalty to Him; whilst
“ Arms are taken up, not only without, but
“ against His Consent, and exprefs Command, and
“ Collections publicly made, and Contributions
“ avowed, for the maintenance of the Army which
“ hath given him Battle, and therein used all pos-
“ sible means Treason and Malice could suggest to
“ them, to have taken his Life from him, and to
“ have destroyed his Royal Issue; whilst such of
“ his Majesty’s Subjects, who, out of Duty and
“ Affection to his Majesty, and compassion of their
“ bleeding Country, have labored for Peace, are
“ reviled, injured, and murdered, even by the
“ Magistrates of that City or by Their Directions:
“ Lastly, what hopes his Majesty can have of safety
“ there, whilst Alderman *Pennington*, their pre-
“ tended Lord Mayor, the principal Author of
“ those Calamities which so nearly threaten the ruin
“ of that famous City, *Ven*, *Faulke*, and *Man-*
“ *wairing*, all Persons notoriously guilty of Schisma
and

“ and High-Treason, commit such Outrages, in
 “ oppressing, robbing, and imprisoning, according
 “ to their discretion, all such his Majesty’s Loving
 “ Subjects, whom they are pleased to suspect for
 “ but wishing well to his Majesty.

“ And his Majesty would know, whether the
 “ Petitioners believe, that the reviling, and sup-
 “ pressing the Book of Common-Prayer, established
 “ in this Church ever since the Reformation, the
 “ discountenancing and imprisoning Godly, Learn-
 “ ed, and Painful Preachers, and the cherishing
 “ and countenancing of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and
 “ all manner of Sectaries, be the way to defend and
 “ maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion?
 “ That to comply with, and assist Persons who
 “ have actually attempted to kill his Majesty, and
 “ to allow, and favor Libels, Pasquils, and sedi-
 “ tious Sermons against his Majesty, be to defend
 “ his Royal Person, and Honor, according to the
 “ duty of their Allegiance? Whether to imprison
 “ Men’s Persons, and to plunder their Houses, be-
 “ cause they will not Rebel against his Majesty,
 “ nor assist those that do; whether to destroy their
 “ property by taking away the twentieth part of
 “ their Estates from them, and by the same Arbi-
 “ trary Power, to refer to four Standers by, of
 “ their own Faction, to judge what that twentieth
 “ part is, be to defend the Lawful Rights, and
 “ Liberties of the Subject? And if they think these
 “ Actions to be instances of either; whether they
 “ do not know the Persons before named to be
 “ guilty of them all? Or whether they think it pos-

B O O K

VI.

“ fible, that Almighty God can blefs that City, and
“ preferve it from deftruction, whilst Persons of
“ fuch known guilt, and wickednefs, are defended,
“ and juftified among them, againft the power of
“ that Law, by which they can only fubfift.

“ His Majesty is fo far from fuffering himfelf to
“ be incenfed againft the whole City, by the Actions
“ of thefe ill Men, though they have hitherto been
“ fo prevalent, as to make the Affections of the
“ reft of little ufe to him; and is fo willing to be
“ with them, and to protect them, that the Trade,
“ Wealth, and Glory thereof, fo decayed and
“ eclipsed by thefe public diftractions, may again
“ be the Envy of all Foreign Nations, that he doth
“ once more graciously offer his free and general
“ Pardon to all the Inhabitants of that his City of
“ *London*, the Suburbs and City of *Westminfter*
“ (except the Persons formerly excepted by his
“ Majesty) if they fhall Yet return to their Duty,
“ Loyalty, and Obedience. And if his good Sub-
“ jects of that his City of *London* fhall firft folemnly
“ declare, that they will defend the known Laws
“ of the Land, and will fubmit to, and be governed
“ by, no other Rule; if they fhall firft manifef, t,
“ by defending themfelves, and maintaining their
“ own Rights, Liberties, and Interests, and fup-
“ preffing any Force and Violence unlawfully raifed
“ againft thofe and his Majesty, their power to
“ defend, and preferve him from all Tumults,
“ Affronts, and Violence; Laftly, if they fhall ap-
“ prehend, and commit to fafe cuftody, the Persons
“ of thofe four Men who enrich themfelves by the

“ spoil, and oppression of his Loving Subjects, and
“ the ruin of the City, that his Majesty may proceed
“ against them by the Course of Law, as guilty of
“ High-Treason; his Majesty will speedily return to
“ them with his Royal, and without his Martial
“ Attendance, and will use his utmost endeavours,
“ that they may hereafter enjoy all the blessings of
“ Peace and Plenty; and will no longer expect obe-
“ dience from them, than he shall, with all the
“ faculties of his Soul, labor in the preserving, and
“ advancing the true Reformed Protestant Religion,
“ the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property of
“ the Subjects, and the just Privileges of Parliament.
“ If, notwithstanding all this, the Art, and In-
“ terest of these Men can prevail so far, that they
“ involve more Men in their guilt, and draw that
“ his City to sacrifice its present happiness, and
“ future hopes, to their Pride, Fury, and Malice,
“ his Majesty shall only give them this warning;
“ That whosoever shall henceforward take up Arms,
“ without His consent, contribute any Money, or
“ Plate, upon what pretence of Authority soever,
“ for maintenance of the Army under the Command
“ of the Earl of *Essex*, or any other Army in Rebel-
“ lion against him, or shall pay Tonnage and Poun-
“ dage, till the same shall be settled by Act of Parlia-
“ ment, every such Person must expect the severest
“ punishment the Law can inflict; and, in the mean
“ time, his Majesty shall seize upon any part of his
“ Estate within his power, for the Relief and Support
“ of Him and his Army, raised and maintained for
“ the Defence of his Person, the Laws, and this

BOOK
VI.

“ his Kingdom: And since he denies to his Majesty
“ the duty and benefit of his Subjection, by giving
“ Assistance to Rebels, which, by the known Laws
“ of the Land, is High-Treason; his Majesty shall
“ likewise deny Him the benefit of his Protection,
“ and shall not only signify to all his Foreign Minis-
“ ters, that such Person shall receive no advantage
“ by being his Subject, but shall, by all other ways
“ and means, proceed against him as a public Enemy
“ to his Majesty, and this Kingdom.

“ Yet his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but
“ his good Subjects of *London* will call to mind the
“ Acts of their Predecessors, the Duty, Affection,
“ Loyalty, and Merit towards their Princes, the
“ Renown they have had with all Posterity for,
“ and the blessing of Heaven which always accom-
“ panied those Virtues; and will consider the per-
“ petual scorn, and infamy which unavoidably will
“ follow Them and their Children, if infinitely the
“ meaner part in Quality, and much the lesser part
“ in Number, shall be able to alter the Government,
“ so admirably established, destroy the Trade so
“ excellently settled, and to waste the Wealth so
“ industriously gotten, of that flourishing City:
“ And they will easily gather up the Courage and
“ Resolution to join with his Majesty in Defence of
“ that Religion, Law, and Liberty, which hitherto
“ hath, and only can, make Themselves, his Ma-
“ jesty, and his Kingdom, happy.

“ For concurring with the advice of his two
“ Houses of Parliament, which, with reference to
“ the Common-wealth, may be as well at this dist-

“ance, as by being at *White-Hall*, his Majesty
“doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London*
“well know, how far, beyond the example of his
“Predecessors, his Majesty hath concurred with
“their advice, in passing of such Laws, by which
“he willingly parted with many of his known
“Rights, for the benefit of his Subjects; which,
“the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom
“did not oblige him to consent unto; and hath used
“all possible means to beget a right understanding
“between them: And will therefore apply them-
“selves to those who by making just, peaceable,
“and honorable Propositions to his Majesty, can
“only beget that concurrence.”

This Answer the King sent by a Servant of his own, supposing, that if he sent it by the Messengers who brought the Petition, it might either be suppressed, or not communicated in that manner as He desired. Besides, the Messengers themselves, after the King had caused it to be read to them, were very well contented that it should be delivered by other hands than their's. So they promised his Majesty, that they would procure a Common-Hall (which is the most general Assembly of the City, the meanest Person being admitted) to be called as soon as they returned; where his Messenger might deliver it: and having been graciously used by the King and the Court, after two days stay, they returned from *Oxford* together with the Gentleman sent by his Majesty. When they came to *London*, the contents of the Answer were quickly known, though not delivered; and the two Houses made an Order,

B O O K
VI.

“ that the Lord Mayor should not call a Common-
“ Hall, till he received farther direction from Them.”
So that, though the Gentleman, sent by the King,
often solicited the Lord Mayor, “ that he would
“ call a Common-Hall, at which he was to deliver
“ a Message from the King,” many days passed be-
fore any Orders were issued to that purpose.

At last, a day was appointed: and, at the same
time, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were
sent to be present, to see that it might not have
such a reception, as might render their Interest sus-
pected. As soon as the Gentleman sent by the King
had read his Majesty's Answer, the Earl of *Man-*
chester told them, “ of the high value the Parlia-
“ ment had of the City; that they had considered
“ of those wounding Aspersions, which, in that
“ Answer, were cast upon Persons of such eminent
“ affection in their City, and upon others, of great
“ Fidelity and Trust among them: That they
“ owned themselves to be equally interested in all
“ things that concerned them, and would stand by
“ them with their Lives, and Fortunes, for the Pre-
“ servation of the City in general, and those Persons
“ in particular who had been Faithful, and deserved
“ well both of the Parliament, and Kingdom. And
“ they would pursue all means with their Lives and
“ Fortunes, that might be for the Preservation of
“ that City, and for the procuring of Safety, Hap-
“ piness, and Peace, to the whole Kingdom.”

As soon as his Lordship had finished his Oration,
which was received with marvellous Acclamations,
Mr. *Pym* enlarged himself, in a Speech then printed,

upon the several parts of the King's Answer (for it was so long before it was delivered, that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there after the Messenger was gone so long that all Men concluded it was delivered, were public and in all hands) and told them the sense of the two Houses of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the rest, “ that the demanding the Lord Mayor, and the “ other three Citizens, was against the Privilege “ of Parliament (two of them being Members of “ the House of Commons) and most dishonorable “ to the City, that the Lord Mayor of *London* “ should be subjected to the violence of every base “ Fellow; and that they should be commanded to “ deliver up their chief Magistrates, and such eminent Members of the City, to the King's pleasure, “ only because they had done their duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for the defence of the “ Kingdom. ”

He told them, “ that, to the objection that the “ Government of the City had been managed by a “ few desperate Persons, and that they did exercise “ an Arbitrary Power, the two Houses gave them “ this Testimony, that they had, in most of the “ great occasions concerning the Government of the “ City, followed Their direction: and that direction which the Parliament had given, They had “ executed; and they must, and would maintain to “ be such, as stood with Their honor in giving it, “ and the others trust, and fidelity in performing it.”

To the objection, “ that the Property of the “ Subject was destroyed, by taking away the twen-

B O O K
VI.

“ tieth part by an Arbitrary Power ,” he told them,
“ that That Ordinance did not require a twentieth
“ part, but did limit the Assessors that they should
“ not go beyond a twentieth part, and that was
“ done by a Power derived from both Houses of
“ Parliament; the Lords, who had an hereditary
“ Interest in making of Laws in this Kingdom; and
“ the Commons, who were elected and chosen to
“ represent the whole Body of the Commonalty,
“ and trusted, for the good of the People, when-
“ ever they see cause, to charge the Kingdom.” He
said farther, “ that the same Law which did enable
“ the two Houses of Parliament to raise Forces to
“ maintain, and defend the safety of Religion,
“ and of the Kingdom, did likewise enable them to
“ require contributions whereby those Forces might
“ be maintained; or else it were a vain power to
“ raise Forces, if they had not a power likewise to
“ maintain them in that Service for which they
“ were raised. He observed, that it was reported,
“ that the King declared he would send some Mes-
“ sengers to observe their carriage in the City, and
“ what was done among them: the Parliament had
“ just cause to doubt, that those would be Messen-
“ gers of sedition, and trouble, and therefore de-
“ fired them to observe and find them out, that
“ they might know who they were.” He concluded
with “ commending unto their consideration, the
“ great danger that they were all in; and that the
“ danger could not be kept off, in all likelihood,
“ but by the Army that was then on foot;” and
assured them, “ that the Lords and Commons were

“ so far from being frightened by any thing, in that
“ Answer, that they had, for Themselves, and the
“ Members of both Houses, declared a farther con-
“ tribution, towards the maintenance of that Army;
“ and could not but hope, and desire, that the City,
“ which had showed so much good Affection in the
“ former necessities of the State, would be sensible
“ of their own, and of the condition of the whole
“ Kingdom, and add to that which they had already
“ done, some farther Contribution, whereby that
“ Army might be maintained for all their safeties.”

Whether the solemnity for the reception of this Message after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing so great a Guard of armed Men to the place where it was to be delivered, frightened the well affected Party of the City from coming thither, or frightened them, when they were there, from expressing those Affections, I know not. But it is certain, these Speeches and Discourses were received, and entertained with all imaginable applause, and that meeting was concluded with a general Acclamation, “ that they would live, and die with the
“ Houses,” and other expressions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther Address, or compliance with his Majesty from the City, were so entirely and absolutely laid aside, that the Licence of Seditious and Treasonable discourses daily increased; infomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain desperate Person, had said, “ that he hoped shortly to wash his hands in
“ the King’s blood,” that Minister of Justice refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to

B O O K any Officer, for the apprehension of him. This was
VI. the success of that Petition, and Answer.

The Houses now began to speak Themselves, of sending Propositions to the King for Peace. For, how great soever the compliance seemed with them from the City, or the Country, they well enough discerned that compliance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a speedy Peace. And they had now procured That to pass both Houses, which they only wanted, the Bill for the extirpation of Episcopacy: in the doing whereof, they used marvellous Art, and Industry. They who, every day, did somewhat, how little soever then taken notice of, to make Peace impossible, and resolved, that no Peace could be safe for Them, but such a one as would be unsafe for the King, well enough knew that they should never be able to hold up, and carry on the War against the King in *England*, but by the help of an Army out of *Scotland*; which they had no hope to procure but upon the Stock of the Alteration of the Government of the Church; to which that Nation was violently inclined. But to compass That, was very difficult; very much the Major part, even of those Members who still continued with them, being cordially Affected to the Government established, at least not Affected to any Other. To those therefore, who were so far engaged as to desire to have it in Their power to compel the King to consent to such a Peace as they desired, they represented, “the consequence of getting the *Scots* to declare “for them; which would more terrify the King,

“ and keep the Northern parts in Subjection more,
“ than any Forces they should be able to raise:
“ That it was impossible to draw such a Declaration
“ from them, without first declaring themselves
“ that they would alter the Government by the
“ Bishops; which that People pretended to believe
“ the only justifiable ground to take up Arms.” To
others, which was indeed their public, and avowed,
and current Argument in debates, they alledged,
“ that they could not expect that any Peace would
“ be effected by the King’s free concurrence to any
“ Message they could send to him, but that it must
“ arise, and result from a Treaty between them,
“ upon such Propositions as either Party would
“ make upon their own Interest: that it could not
“ be expected that such Propositions would be
“ made on either side, as would be pertinaciously
“ insisted on by them who made them; it being the
“ course, in all Affairs of this Nature, to ask more
“ than was expected to be consented to; that it con-
“ cerned Them as much, to make demands of great
“ Moment to the King, from which they meant to
“ recede, as others upon which they must insist:
“ that all Men knew the inclination and affection
“ the King had to the Church, and therefore if he
“ saw That in danger, he would rescue it at any
“ price, and very probably their departing from
“ their Proposition concerning the Church, might
“ be the most powerful Argument to the King, to
“ gratify them with the Militia.”

By these Artifices, and especially by concluding
obstinately, “ that no Propositions should be sent

B O O K
VI.

Commission-
ers sent to
the King with
Propositions
of Peace about
the end of
January.

“ to the King for Peace, till the Bill for extirpation
“ of Bishops was passed the Lords House” (where
it would never otherwise have been submitted to)
they had their desire, and, about the end of *January*,
they sent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*,
Salisbury, and *Holland*, with eight Members of the
Commons to *Oxford*, with their Petition and Pro-
positions. And here I cannot omit one Stratagem,
which, at that time, occasioned some Mirth. The
Common-People of *London* were persuaded, “ that
“ there was so great scarcity of Victual and Provi-
“ sions at *Oxford*, and in all the King’s Quarters,
“ that they were not without danger of starving;
“ and that, if all other ways failed, That alone
“ would in a short time bring the King to them.”
To make good this report, Provisions of all kinds,
even to Bread, were sent in Waggon, and on
Horses from *London* to *Oxford*, for the supply of
this Committee: when, without doubt, they found
as great plenty of all things where they came, as
they had left behind them. The Petition presented
to his Majesty with the Propositions were, in these
words, at the presentation, read by the Earl of
Northumberland.

*The humble desires, and Propositions of the Lords
and Commons in Parliament, tendered to his
Majesty.*

“ We your Majesty’s most humble and faithful
“ Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament
“ Assembled, having in our thoughts the glory of
“ God, your Majesty’s honor, and the prosperity
“ of your People, and being most grievously afflicted

“ with the pressing Miseries, and Calamities, which
“ have overwhelmed your two Kingdoms of *Eng-*
“ *land*, and *Ireland*, since your Majesty hath, by
“ the persuation of evil Counsellors, withdrawn
“ yourself from the Parliament, raised an Army
“ against it, and, by force thereof protected De-
“ linquents from the justice of it, constraining Us to
“ take Arms for the defence of Our Religion, Laws,
“ Liberties, Privileges of Parliament, and for the
“ sitting of the Parliament in safety; which fears
“ and dangers are continued, and increased, by the
“ raising, drawing together, and Arming of great
“ Numbers of Papists, under the Command of the
“ Earl of *New-Castle*; likewise by making the Lord
“ *Herbert* of *Ragland*, and other known Papists,
“ Commanders of great Forces, whereby many
“ grievous oppressions, rapines, and cruelties have
“ been, and are daily exercised upon the Persons
“ and Estates of your People, much innocent blood
“ hath been spilt, and the Papists have attained
“ means of attempting, with hopes of effecting,
“ their mischievous designs of rooting out the Re-
“ formed Religion, and destroying the Professors
“ thereof: In the tender sense, and compassion of
“ these Evils, under which your People, and King-
“ dom lie (according to the duty, which We owe
“ to God, your Majesty, and the Kingdom, for
“ which we are trusted) do most earnestly desire,
“ that an end may be put to these great distempers
“ and distractions, for the preventing of that deso-
“ lation which doth threaten all your Majesty’s
“ Dominions. And as We have rendered, and still

B O O K
VI.

“ are ready to render to your Majesty, that Sub-
 “ jection, Obedience, and Service, which We owe
 “ unto you, so We most humbly beseech your
 “ Majesty, to remove the causes of this War, and
 “ to vouchsafe Us that Peace and Protection, which
 “ We, and Our Ancestors have formerly enjoyed
 “ under your Majesty, and your Royal Predeces-
 “ sors, and graciously to accept, and grant these
 “ Our most humble Desires and Propositions:”

1. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to disband
 “ your Armies, as we likewise shall be ready to
 “ disband all those Forces, which We have raised;
 “ and that you will be pleased to return to your
 “ Parliament.

2. “ That you will leave Delinquents to a Legal
 “ Trial, and Judgment of Parliament.

3. “ That the Papists may not only be disbanded,
 “ but disarmed according to Law.

4. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to give
 “ your Royal Assent unto the Bill for taking away the
 “ superstitious Innovations; to the Bill for the utter
 “ abolishing, and taking away of all Arch-bishops,
 “ bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans,
 “ Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons,
 “ Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters,
 “ Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succen-
 “ tors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral, Choristers,
 “ old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Chathedral or
 “ Collegiate Church, and all other their under-
 “ Officers out of the Church of *England*: to the Bill
 against scandalous Ministers; to the Bill against
 “ Pluralities; and to the Bill for consultation to
 “ be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned

“ Divines. That your Majesty will be pleased to
“ promise to pass such other good Bills for settling of
“ Church-Government, as upon Consultation with
“ the Assembly of the said Divines, shall be resolved
“ on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them
“ presented to your Majesty.

5. “ That your Majesty having expressed, in your
“ Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of both
“ Houses of Parliament, a hearty Affection and
“ Intention for the rooting out of Popery out of this
“ Kingdom; and that, if both the Houses of Parlia-
“ ment can yet find a more effectual course to disable
“ Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, from
“ disturbing the State, or eluding the Laws, that
“ you would willingly give your consent unto
“ it; that you would be graciously pleased, for the
“ better Discovery, and speedier Conviction of
“ Recusants, that an Oath may be established by Act
“ of Parliament, to be administered in such manner
“ as by both Houses shall be agreed on; wherein
“ they shall abjure and renounce the Pope’s Supre-
“ macy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Pur-
“ gatory, Worshipping of the Consecrated Host,
“ Crucifixes, and Images: And the refusing the said
“ Oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be
“ appointed by Act of Parliament, shall be a sufficient
“ Conviction in Law of Recusancy. And that your
“ Majesty will be graciously pleased to give your
“ Royal Assent unto a Bill, for the Education of the
“ Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant
“ Religion. That for the more effectual execution of
“ the Laws against Popish Recusants, your Majesty

B O O K
VI.

B O O K

VI.

“ will be pleased to consent to a Bill, for the true
“ Levying of the Penalties against them; and
“ that the same Penalties may be Levied, and dis-
“ posed of in such manner as both Houses of Parlia-
“ ment shall agree on; so as your Majesty be at no
“ loss; and likewise to a Bill, whereby the practice
“ of Papists against the State may be prevented, and
“ the Law against them duly executed.

6. “ That the Earl of *Bristol* may be removed
“ from your Majesty’s Councils; and that both He,
“ and the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Earl of
“ *Worcester*, may likewise be restrained from coming
“ within the Verge of the Court; and that they may
“ not bear any Office, or have any Employments
“ concerning State or Common-wealth.

7. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased,
“ by Act of Parliament, to settle the Militia both by
“ Sea and Land, and for the Forts and Ports of the
“ Kingdom, in such a manner as shall be agreed on
“ by both Houses.

8. “ That your Majesty will be pleased, by your
“ Letters Patent, to make Sir *John Bramston*, Chief
“ Justice of the Court of King’s Bench; *William*
“ *Lenthall* Esquire, the now Speaker of the Com-
“ mon’s House, Master of the Rolls; and to con-
“ tinue the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, Chief Justice
“ of the Court of Common-Pleas; and likewise to
“ make Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, Chief Baron of your
“ Court of Exchequer; and that Mr. Justice *Bacon*
“ may be continued; and Mr. Serjeant *Rolls*, and
“ Mr. Serjeant *Atkins*, made Justices of the King’s
“ Bench: That Mr. Justice *Reeves*, and Mr. Justice
“ *Foster*,

“ *Foster*, may be continued; and Mr. Serjeant, B O O K
 “ *Pheasant*, made one of the Justices of your Court VI.
 “ of Common-Pleas; That Mr. Serjeant *Creswell*,
 “ Mr. *Samuel Brown*, and Mr. *John Puleston*, may
 “ be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all these, and
 “ all the Judges of the same Courts, for the time to
 “ come, may hold their places by Letters - Patent
 “ under the Great Seal, *Quam diu se bene gesserint*:
 “ And that the several Persons not before named,
 “ that do hold any of these places before mentioned,
 “ may be removed.

9. “ That all such Persons, as have been put out
 “ of the Commissions of Peace, or *Oyer and Terminer*,
 “ or from being *Custodes Rotulorum*, since the first
 “ day of *April* 1642 (other than such as were put out
 “ by desire of both or either of the Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment) may again be put into those Commissions,
 “ and Offices; and that such Persons may be put out
 “ of those Commissions, and Offices, as shall be
 “ excepted against by both Houses of Parliament.

10. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to pass
 “ the Bill now presented to your Majesty, to vindi-
 “ cate and secure the Privileges of Parliament, from
 “ the ill consequence of the late Precedent in the
 “ Charge and Proceeding against the Lord *Kimbol-*
 “ *ton*, now Earl of *Manchester*, and the five Members
 “ of the House of Commons.

11. “ That your Royal Assent may be given unto
 “ such Acts as shall be advised by both Houses of
 “ Parliament, for the satisfying and paying the
 “ Debts, and Damages, wherein the two Houses of

B O O K
VI.

“ Parliament have engaged the Public Faith of the
“ Kingdom.

12. “ That your Majesty will be pleased, accord-
“ ing to a gracious Answer heretofore received from
“ you , to enter into a more strict Alliance with
“ the States of the united Provinces , and other
“ Neighbour Princes , and States of the Protestant
“ Religion , for the defence and maintenance thereof
“ against all designs and attempts of the Popish , and
“ Jesuitical Faction , to subvert and suppress it ;
“ whereby your Subjects may hope to be free from
“ the mischiefs which this Kingdom hath endured ,
“ through the power which some of that Party have
“ had in your Counsels ; and will be much encoura-
“ ged , in a Parliamentary way , for your Aid and
“ Assistance in restoring your Royal Sister , and the
“ Prince Elector , to those Dignities and Dominions
“ which belong unto them ; and relieving the other
“ Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same
“ Cause.

13. “ That in the general Pardon which your
“ Majesty hath been pleased to offer to your Subjects,
“ all Offences and Misdemeanours committed before
“ the 10th of *January* 1641 , which have been or shall
“ be questioned, or proceeded against in Parliament,
“ upon Complaint in the House of Commons, before
“ the 10th *January* 1643 , shall be excepted ; which
“ Offences , and Misdemeanours shall nevertheless
“ be taken , and adjudged to be fully discharged
“ against all other inferior Courts. That likewise
“ there shall be an exception of all Offences com-
“ mitted by any Person or Persons, which hath , or

“ have had, any hand or practice in the Rebellion
“ of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any
“ Counsel, Assistance, or Encouragement to the
“ Rebels there, for the maintenance of that Rebel-
“ lion; as likewise an exception of *William* Earl of
“ *New-Castle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

14. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to restore
“ such Members of either House of Parliament to
“ their several places of Services, and Employment,
“ out of which they have been put since the begin-
“ ning of this Parliament; that they may receive
“ satisfaction, and reparation for those places, and
“ for the profits which they have lost by such remo-
“ vals, upon the Petition of both Houses of Parlia-
“ ment: and that all others may be restored to their
“ Offices, and Employments, who have been put
“ out of the same upon any displeasure conceived
“ against them, for any Assistance given to both
“ Houses of Parliament, or Obeying their Com-
“ mands, or forbearing to leave their Attendance
“ upon the Parliament without Licence; or for any
“ other occasion, arising from these unhappy dif-
“ ferences, betwixt your Majesty, and both Houses
“ of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both
“ Houses.

“ These things being granted, and performed,
“ as it hath always been our hearty Prayer, so shall
“ We be enabled to make it our hopeful Endea-
“ vour, that your Majesty, and your People, may
“ enjoy the blessings of Peace, Truth, and Justice;
“ the Royalty and Greatness of your Throne may

B O O K
VI.

“ be supported by the Loyal, and Bountiful Affec-
“ tions of your People; Their Liberties, and Pri-
“ vileges maintained by your Majesty’s Protection,
“ and Justice; and this public Honor, and Happi-
“ ness of your Majesty, and all your Dominions,
“ communicated to other Churches, and States of
“ your Alliance, and derived to your Royal Poste-
“ rity, and the future Generations of this Kingdom
“ for ever.”

They who brought this Petition and Propositions, spake to their friends at *Oxford* with all freedom of the Persons from whom they came; inveighed against “ their Tyranny, and Unreasonableness,” and especially against the Propositions themselves had brought; but positively declared, “ that, if the King
“ would vouchsafe so gracious an Answer (which
“ they confessed they had no reason to expect) as
“ might engage the two Houses in a Treaty, it
“ would not be then in the power of the Violent
“ Party to deny whatsoever his Majesty could rea-
“ sonably desire.” However (though the King expected little from those private undertakings, well knowing, that they who wished best, were of least power, and that the greatest among them, as soon as they were but suspected to incline to Peace, immediately lost their Reputation) his Majesty, within two days, graciously dismissed those Messengers with this Answer.

“ If his Majesty had not given up all the faculties
“ of his Soul to an earnest endeavour of Peace, and
“ Reconciliation with his People; or if he would
“ suffer himself, by any Provocation, to be drawn

“ to a sharpness of Language, at a time when there
“ seems somewhat like an Overture of Accommo-
“ dation, he could not but resent the heavy Char-
“ ges upon him in the Preamble of these Proposi-
“ tions; would not suffer himself to be reproached,
“ with protecting of Delinquents, by force, from
“ justice. (his Majesty’s desire having always been,
“ that all Men should be tried by the known Law,
“ and having been refused it) with raising an Army
“ against his Parliament, and to be told that Arms
“ have been taken up against Him for the defence
“ of Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Privileges of
“ Parliament, and for the sitting of the Parliament
“ in safety, with many other particulars in that
“ Preamble so often and so fully answered by his
“ Majesty, without remembering the world of the
“ Time, and Circumstances of raising those Arms
“ against him; when his Majesty was so far from
“ being in a condition to invade other Men’s Rights,
“ that he was not able to maintain, and defend his
“ own from Violence; and without telling his good
“ Subjects, that their Religion (the true Protestant
“ Religion, in which his Majesty was born, hath
“ faithfully lived, and to which He will die a wil-
“ ling Sacrifice) their Laws, Liberties, Privileges,
“ and safety of Parliament, were so amply settled,
“ and established, or offered to be so by his Ma-
“ jesty, before any Army was raised against him,
“ and long before any raised by him for his defence,
“ that if nothing had been desired but that Peace
“ and Protection which his Subjects, and their An-
“ cestors, had in the best times enjoyed, under his

BOOK
VI.

“ Majesty, or his Royal Predecessors, this misunderstanding and distance between his Majesty
“ and his People, and this general Misery and Distraction upon the face of the whole Kingdom, had
“ not been now the discourse of all *Christendom*.

“ But his Majesty will forbear any expressions of
“ bitterness, or of a sense of his own Sufferings, that,
“ if it be possible, the Memory thereof may be lost
“ to the world. And therefore, though many of
“ the Propositions, presented to his Majesty by
“ both Houses, appear to him very derogatory
“ from, and destructive to, his just Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficial to his Subjects,
“ few of them being already due to them by the
“ Laws established (and how Unparliamentary it is
“ by Arms to require new Laws, all the world may
“ judge) yet (because these may be waved, or
“ mollified, and many things, that are now dark
“ and doubtful in them, cleared, and explained
“ upon debate) his Majesty is pleased, such is his
“ sense of the Miseries, this Kingdom suffers by this
“ unnatural War, and his earnest desire to remove
“ them by a happy Peace, that a speedy time and
“ place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such
“ Persons as his Majesty and both Houses shall appoint to discuss these Propositions, and such
“ others here following as his Majesty doth propose
“ to them.

1. “ That his Majesty’s own Revenue, Magazine,
“ Towns, Forts, and Ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forthwith
“ restored unto him.

2. " That whatsoever hath been done, or published, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his Majesty's Legal, and known Power and Rights, be renounced, and recalled, that no seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future.

3. " That whatsoever illegal Power hath been claimed, and exercised by, or over his Subjects, as imprisoning their Persons without Law, stopping their *Habeas-Corpus's*, and imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament, &c. Either by both, or either House, or any Committee of both, or either, or by any Persons appointed by any of them, be disclaimed; and all such Persons so committed, forthwith discharged.

4. " That as his Majesty will readily consent (having done so heretofore) to the execution of all Laws already made, and to any good Acts to be made for the suppressing of Popery, and for the firm settling of the Protestant Religion now established by Law; so he desires, that a good Bill may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Common-Prayer from the scorn and violence of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries, with such Clauses for the ease of tender Consciences, as his Majesty hath formerly offered.

5. " That all such Persons, as, upon the Treaty, shall be excepted out of the general Pardon, shall be tried *per pares*, according to the usual Course, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit, or condemn them:

6. " And to the intent this Treaty may not suffer interruption, by any intervening Accidents, that

B O O K
VI.

“ a Cessation of Arms, and free Trade for all his Majesty's Subjects, may be first agreed upon.

“ This offer and desire of his Majesty, he hopes, will be so cheerfully entertained, that a speedy, and blessed Peace may be accomplished. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting upon unreasonable circumstances, be made impossible (which, he hopes, God in his Mercy to this Nation will not suffer) the guilt of the blood which will be shed, and the desolation which must follow, will lie upon the heads of the Refusers. However, his Majesty is resolved, through what Accidents soever he shall be compelled to recover his Rights, and with what prosperous success soever it shall please God to bless him, that by his earnest, constant Endeavours to propagate and promote the true Protestant Religion, and by his governing according to the known Laws of the Land, and upholding the just Privileges of Parliament, according to his frequent protestations made before Almighty God (which he will always inviolably observe) the world shall see, that he hath undergone all these difficulties, and hazards, for the defence and maintenance of those, the zealous preservation of which, his Majesty well knows, is the only foundation and means for the true happiness of Him, and his People.”

Whilst these Overtures and Discourses were made of Peace, the Kingdom, in all parts, felt the sad effects of War; neither the King, nor the Parliament, being slack in pursuing the business by the Sword; and the Persons of Honor and Quality in

most Counties more vigorously declaring themselves than they had done. Amongst the rest, upon the King's retreat from *Brentford*, whilst he yet staid about *Reading*, some of the well affected Gentry of *Sussex*, upon the confidence of their Interests in those parts, offered the King to raise Forces there; and presumed they should be able to seize some place of security and importance for their retreat, if the Enemy should attempt upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceived could be with any notable success. And being armed with such Authority, and Commissions, as they desired; and seconded with a good Number of considerable Officers, their first success was answerable to their own hopes, and they possessed themselves, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, of the City of *Chichester*; which, being encompassed with a very good old Wall, was very easy to be so fortified, that, with the Winter, they might well think themselves secure against any forcible Attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been so, if the Common-People of the County (out of which the Soldiers were to rise) had been so well affected as was believed.

Chichester
possessed by
the King's
Forces:

But before they could draw in Men or Provisions into the City, the Earl of *Essex* sent Sir *William Waller* with Horse, Foot, and Cannon, to infect them; who, with the Assistance of the Country, quickly shut them up within their Walls. They within the Town were easily reduced to straits they could not contend with; for, besides the Enemy without, against which the Wall and the Weather seemed of

B O O K
VI.

But surren-
dered to Sir
W. Waller.

equal power, and the small stock of Provisions, which, in so short time, they were able to draw thither, they had cause to apprehend their Friends would be weary before their Enemies; and that the Citizens would not prove a trusty part of the Garrison; and their Number of Common Men was so small, that the constant duty was performed by the Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, who were absolutely tired out. So that after a week or ten days Siege, they were compelled, upon no better Articles than Quarter, to deliver that City, which could hardly have been taken from them, by which (with the Loss of fifty or threescore Gentlemen of Quality, and Officers of Name, whose very good reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute, and unavoidable necessity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant Garrisons so far from his own Quarters, where he could not, in reasonable time, administer succour or supply.

This Triumph of the Enemy was shortly after abated, and the loss on the King's part repaired, by the winning of *Cirencester*, a good Town in *Glocestershire*, which the Rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very strong Garrison; and, being upon the edge of *Wiltshire*, *Berkshire*, and *Oxfordshire*, shrewdly straitened the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near two thousand Foot, and one Regiment of Horse, intended, with the Assistance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to join with him with some Regiments from *Oxford*, to take in that Town; But by the extreme foulness of the ways, the great fall of rain

at that time (being about *Christmas*) and some mistake in Orders between the two Generals, that Design was disappointed: And the Alarm gave the Enemy so much the more courage, and diligence to provide for an Assault.

In the beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* went upon the same Design with better success; and at one and the same time, storming the Town in several places, their Works being not yet finished, though pertinaciously enough defended, entered their Line with some loss of Men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not so few as two hundred killed upon the place, and above one thousand taken Prisoners, whereof *Warneford*, and *Fettyplace* (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that Town, and very active in the Service) Mr. *George*, a Member of Parliament who served for that Borough, and two or three *Scottish* Officers of the Field, whereof *Carr* the Governor was one, were the chief. The Town yielded much Plunder; from which the undistinguishing Soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to Friend and Foe; so that many honest Men, who were imprisoned by the Rebels for not concurring with them, found themselves at Liberty and Undone together; amongst whom *John Plot*, a Lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard, and barbarous imprisonment in which he had been kept, when he returned to his own House, found it full of Soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in Money taken from thence, which could never be recovered. The Prince left a

B O O K
VI.

Cirencester
won by the
King's Forces
under Prince
Rupert.

B O O K

VI.

strong Garrison there, that brought almost all that whole County into contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from *Oxford* to *Worcester*; that important City, with the other of *Hereford*, and those Counties, having, some time before, been quitted by the Rebels; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in those parts by the Earl of *Essex*, being called from thence, by the growth of the King's Party in *Cornwal*, to the securing the West.

We remembered before, when the Marquis of *Hertford* transported himself and his few Foot into *Wales* from *Minhead*, that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the other Gentlemen, mentioned before, with their small Force, consisting of about one hundred Horse, and fifty Dragoons, retired into *Cornwal*, neglected by the Earl of *Bedford*, as fit and easy to be suppressed by the Committees. And in truth, the Committees were entirely possessed of *Devonshire*, and thought themselves equally sure of *Cornwal*, save that the Castle of *Pendennis* was in the Custody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into *Cornwal* by Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who marched with them towards the West of the County, as being best affected, where they might have leisure to refresh their wearied and almost tired Horse and Men, and to call the well disposed Gentry together; for which they chose *Truro* as the fittest place, the East-part of the County being possessed by Sir *Alexander Carew*, and Sir *Richard Buller*, two Members of the House of Commons, and active Men for the

Sir Ralph
Hopton and
Sir Bevil
Greenvil's
progress in
Cornwal
together with
other Gentle-
men there.

settling of the Militia. There was in this County, as throughout the whole Kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full submission, and Love of the established Government of Church and State, especially to that part of the Church as concerned the Liturgy or Book of Common-Prayer, which was a most general object of Veneration with the People. And the jealousy, and apprehension that the other Party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's Service. Though the Major, and most considerable part of the Gentry, and Men of Estates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the House of Commons; and so having seen, and observed by what spirit the distemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of Name, Fortune, and Reputation with the People, very solicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a Third sort (for a Party they cannot be called) greater than either of the other, both of Fortune, and Number, who, though they were satisfied in their Consciences of the justice of the King's Cause, had yet so great a dread of the Power of the Parliament, that they sat still as Neuters, assisting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compelled to proceed with all wariness, and circumspection; by the known and well understood Rules of the Law, and Justice; and durst not oppose the most extravagant Act of the other Side but with all the formality that was used in full Peace: Which must be an Answer to all those

B O O K
VI.

oversights, and omissions, which Posterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of these Distractions.

The Committee of the Parliament, who were entirely possessed of *Devonshire*, and believed themselves Masters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceston*, to be sure that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and his Adherents (whose power they thought contemptible) might not escape out of their hands. This was before the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the King was at lowest, and when the Authority of Parliament found little opposition in any place. The Quarter-Sessions came, where they caused a Presentment to be drawn, in form of Law, "against divers
" Men unknown, who were lately come armed
" into that County *contra pacem*, &c." Though none were named, all understood Who were meant; and therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who very well understood those proceedings, voluntarily appeared; took notice of the Presentment, and produced the Commission granted by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hertford*, by which he was constituted General of the West; and a Commission, from his Lordship, to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, of Lieutenant General of the Horse; and told them, "he was sent to assist them, in the defence of their Liberties, against all illegal Taxes,
" and Impositions." Hereupon, after a full and solemn debate, the Jury, which consisted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the County, not only acquitted Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen his Companions, of any disturbance

of the Peace; but declared, “that it was a great
“favor, and justice of his Majesty, to send down
“aid to them who were already marked out to
“destruction; and that they thought it the duty of
“every good Subject, as well in Loyalty to the
“King, as in gratitude to those Gentlemen, to join
“with them with any hazard of Life and Fortune.”

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, so an Indictment was preferred against Sir *Alexander Carew*, Sir *Richard Buller*, and the rest of the Committee, “for a Rout and unlawful
“Assembly at *Launceston*; and for Riots and Misde-
“meanours committed against many of the King's
“good Subjects,” in taking their Liberties from them for (they had intercepted, and apprehended divers Messengers, and others of the King's Party, and employed by them) This Indictment and Information was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon, according to a Statute in that case provided, an Order of Sessions was granted to the High-Sheriff, a Person well affected to the King's Service, “to raise
“the *posse Comitatus*, for the dispersing that unlawful
“Assembly at *Launceston*, and for the apprehension
“of the Rioters.” This was the Rise and Foundation of all the great Service that was after performed in *Cornwal*, by which the whole West was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together, a Body of three thousand Foot, well armed; which by no other means could have been done: with which Sir *Ralph Hopton*, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards *Launceston*, which the Committee had fortified,

B O O K
VI.

and from thence had sent Messages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the Sessions; for besides their confidence in their own *Cornish* strength, they had a good Body of Horse to second them upon all occasions, in the Confines of *Devon*.

Sir *George Chudleigh* a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Reputation in that County, and very active for the Militia, being then at *Tavistock*, with five or six full Troops of Horse, raised in that County to go to Their Army, but detained till *Cornwal* could be settled; upon the News of Sir *Ralph Hopton's* advancing, these drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devonshire*, but within three Miles of *Launceston*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* marched within two Miles of the Town, where he refreshed his Men, intending, the next Morning early, to fall on the Town: But Sir *Richard Buller*, and his Confederates, not daring to abide the Storm, in great disorder quitted the Town that Night, and drew into *Devonshire*, and so towards *Plymouth*; so that in the Morning Sir *Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceston* open, and entered without resistance. As the submission to, and reverence of, the known practised Laws had, by the Sheriff's Authority, raised this Army within very few days, so the extreme superstition to it, as soon dissolved it. For when all the Persons of Honor, and Quality, who well knew the desperate formed designs of the other Party, earnestly pressed the pursuing the disheartened, and dismayed Rebels into *Devon*, by which they should quickly increase their Numbers, by joining with the well affected in that large and populous County, who were yet awed
into

into silence : It was powerfully objected, "that the
 " Sheriff, by whose Legal Authority only that
 " Force was drawn together, might not lawfully
 " march out of his own County, and that it was the
 " principal Privilege of the Trained-bands, that
 " they might not be compelled to march farther than
 " the limits of their Sheriff."

How grievous and inconvenient soever this doctrine was discerned to be, yet no Man durst presume so far upon the temper of that People, as to object Policy, or necessity to the notions of Law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was possible, the true reasons, they pretended their not following the Enemy proceeded from apprehension of their strength, by their joining with Sir *George Chudleigh*, and of want of Ammunition (either of which were not unreasonable) and so marched to *Salt-ash*, a Town in *Cornwal* upon an Arm of the Sea; which only divided it from *Plymouth*, and *Devon*, where was a Garrison of two hundred *Scots*; who, upon the approach of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, as kindly quit *Salt-ash*, as the others had *Launceston* before. So that being now entirely Masters of *Cornwal*, they fairly dismissed those who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of Horse and Dragoons, till a new provocation from the Enemy should put fresh Vigor into that County.

In the mean time, considering the casualty of those Trained-bands, and that strength, which on a sudden could be raised by the *posses Comitatus*, which, though it made a Gallant show in *Cornwal*, they easily saw would be of no use towards the

B O O K VI. quenching the General Rebellion over *England*, they entered upon thoughts of raising voluntary Regiments of Foot; which could be only done by the Gentlemen of that County among their Neighbours, and Tenants, who depended on them. Sir *Bevil Greenvil* (the generally most beloved Man of that County) Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, the Gallant Governor of *Pendennis-Castle*, *John Arundel*, and *John Trevannion*, two young Men of Excellent hopes, and Heirs to great Fortunes in that County (all four of them Members of the House of Commons, and so better informed, and acquainted with the desperate humors of the adverse Party) undertook the raising Regiments of Volunteers: many young Gentlemen, of the most considerable Families of the County, assisting them as inferior Officers. So that, within a shorter time than could be expected, from one single County, there was a Body of Foot, of near fifteen hundred, raised, armed, and well disciplined for Action. But there was then an Accident, that might have discomposed a People which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

The Lord *Mohun* (who had departed from *York* from the King with all professions of Zeal, and Activity in his Service) had, from the time of the first motion in *Cornwal*, forborne to join himself to the King's Party; staying at home at his own House, and imparting himself equally to all Men of several Constitutions, as if he had not been yet sufficiently informed which Party to adhere to. But after all the adverse Party was driven out of *Cornwal*, and

the same of the King's marching in the Head of an Army, and having Fought the Battle at *Edge-hill* (the effect whereof was variously reported) without acquainting any Body with his Intention, he took a Journey towards *London*, at the time when the King marched that way, and presented himself to his Majesty at *Brentford*, as sent from Sir *Ralph Hopton* and the rest of those Gentlemen engaged in *Cornwal*; though many Men believed that his purpose was, in truth, for *London*, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believed. Upon his Lordship's information of the State of those Western parts, and upon a supposition that he spake the sense, and desires of those from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a Commission jointly to his Lordship, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkeley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, to govern those Forces, in the absence of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*: with which he returned into *Cornwal*, and immediately raised a Regiment of Foot; behaving himself as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great business, as any Man; so that Men imputed his former reservedness, only to his not being satisfied in a condition of Command.

On the other side, they who were concerned in that alteration, were not at all well contented. For before, these Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, upon whose interest and activity the work depended, had, with great readiness, complied with the other, both out of great value of their Persons, with whom they had good familiarity, and friendship, and in respect

BOOK VI. of their Authority, and Commissions, with which they came qualified in that County: for, as was remembered before, Sir *Ralph Hopton* had a Commission from the Marquis of *Hertford*, to be Lieutenant General of the Horse, Sir *John Berkeley*, to be Commissary General, and Colonel *Ashburnham* to be Major General of the Foot, so that there was no dispute of Commands. But now, the Lord *Mohun's* coming into an equal Command with any, and superior to those who thought Their reputation and interest to be superior to His (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own County) and this by his own sollicitation, and interposition, gave them some indignation. However their public-heartedness, and joint concernment in the good Cause, so totally suppressed all Animosities, and indeed Indispositions, that a greater concurrence could not be desired, in whatsoever could contribute to the work in hand; so that they not only preserved *Cornwal* entire, but made bold incursions into *Devon*, even to the Walls of *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*; though the Season of the year, being the deep Winter, and the want of Ammunition, soon forced them to retire into *Cornwal*.

The reputation of their being Masters of that one County, and the apprehension of what they might be shortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their suppression. And therefore they sent their whole Forces out of *Dorset*, and *Somerset*, to join with those of *Devon*, to make an entire conquest of *Cornwal*. With these, *Ruthen* (a Scotch-man, the Governor of *Plymouth*) advanced

into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, six miles above *Salt-ash* (where he had before endeavoured to force his passage by Water, but had been beaten off with loss) having mastered the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* following him, two or three days march behind, with a new supply of Horse, and Foot; albeit those the *Scotch*-man had with him, were much superior to those of the King's; which, upon this sudden Invasion, were forced to retire with their whole strength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreseeing this storm some few days before it came, they had again summoned the *posse-Comitatus*, which appeared in considerable Numbers.

They had scarce refreshed themselves there, and put their Men in order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horse, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within seven miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all alacrity, knowing how necessary it was for them to Fight before the Earl of *Stamford*, who was at that time come to *Launceston* with a strong Party of Horse and Foot, should be able to join with the Rebels. And as this consideration was of importance to hasten the one, so it prevailed with the other Party too; for *Ruthen*, apprehending that his Victory, of which he made no question, would be clouded by the presence of the Earl of *Stamford*, who had the chief Command, resolved to despatch the business before He came. And so Sir *Ralph Hopton* (to whom the other Commissioners, who had a joint Authority with him, willingly devolved the sole Command for that day, lest confusion of Orders might beget distraction)

B O O K

VI.

Sir Ralph
Hopton beats
the Parlia-
ment's Forces
at Bradock-
Down under
Ruthen.

was no sooner known to be drawing towards him (to whom a present Battle was so necessary, that it was resolved, upon all disadvantages, to have fallen on the Enemy in the Town rather than not Fight) but *Ruthen* likewise drew out his Forces, and chusing his ground upon the East-side of *Bradock-Down* near *Liskard*, stood in Battalia to expect the Enemy; Sir *Ralph Hopton*, having likewise put His Men in order, caused public Prayers to be said, in the head of every Squadron (which the Rebels observing, told their fellows, "they were at Mass, to stir up their Courages in the cause of Religion) and having winged his Foot with his Horse and Dragoons, he advanced within Musquet-shot of the Enemy, who stood without any motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon were not yet come up from the Town, he caused two small iron Minion-Drakes (all the Artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little Parties of Horse, to a convenient distance from the Body of the Enemies; and after two shots of those Drakes (which being not discerned, and doing some execution strook a greater terror into them) advanced with his Body upon them; and, with very easy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the Hedges behind them with their Reserve, by which they thought securely to make their retreat into the Town. But the *Cornish* so briskly bestirred themselves, and pressed them so hard on every side, being indeed excellent at Hedge-work, and that kind of Fight, that they quickly won That ground too, and put their whole Army in a rout, and had the full

execution of them as far as they would pursue. But after that advantage, they were always more sparing than is usually known in Civil Wars, shedding very little Blood after resistance was given over, and having a very noble and Christian sense of the lives of their Brethren: infomuch as the Common Men, when they have been pressed by some fiercer Officer, to follow the execution, have answered, "they could not find in their hearts to hurt Men who had nothing in their hands."

In this Battle, without the loss of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took twelve hundred and fifty Prisoners, most of their Colors, all their Cannon, being four Brass-Guns (whereof two were twelve Pounders) and one iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and most of their Arms. *Ruthen* himself, and those who could keep pace with him, fled to *Salt-ash*; which he thought to fortify, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plymouth*, and assistance of the Shipping, to defend; and thereby still to have an influence upon a good part of *Cornwal*. The Earl of *Stamford*, receiving quick Advertisement of this Defeat, in great disorder retired to *Tavistock*, to preserve the utmost parts of *Devon* from incursions. Hereupon, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for this great Victory (which was about the middle of *January*) and a little refreshing their Men at *Liskard*, the King's Forces divided themselves; Sir *John Berkeley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, with Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning's*, and Colonel *Trevannion's* Voluntary Regiments, and such a Party of Horse and Dragoons as could be

Book
VI.

spared, advanced to *Tavistock* to visit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun's*, and Colonel *Godolphin's* Voluntary Regiments, and some of the Trained-bands, marched towards *Salt-ash*, to dislodge *Ruthen*; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at *Bradock-Down*, and his visitation at *Salt-ash*) had cast up such works, and planted such store of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himself able, with the help of a goodly Ship of four hundred Tuns, in which were sixteen pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up the River to the very side of the Town, to defend that place against any strength was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found that the same spirit possessed his Enemies that drove him from *Liskard*, and the same that possessed his own Men when they fled from thence; for as soon as the *Cornish* came up, they fell upon his works, and in a short time beat him out of them; and then out of the Town, with a good execution upon them; many being killed in the Fight, and more drowned: *Ruthen* himself hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plymouth*, leaving all his Ordinance behind him, which together with the ship, and sevenscore Prisoners, and all their Colors, which had been saved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Masters of *Cornwal*.

Salt-ash taken
by the King's
Forces.

The Earl of *Stamford* had not the same patience to abide the other Party at *Tavistock*, but, before their approach, quitted the Town; some of his Forces

making haste into *Plymouth*, and the rest retiring into *Exeter*. And so, though the old superstition, of not going out of the County, again disbanded the Trained-bands, the *Cornish*, with all their Voluntary Forces, drew into *Devon*, and fixed Quarters within less than a mile of *Plymouth*, and kept Guards even within Musquet-shot of Their Line. Sir *John Berkeley* in the mean time with a good Party-Volant, of Horse and Dragoons, with great diligence, and gallantry, visiting all places in *Devon*, where their People were gathered together, and dissolving them, took many Prisoners of name; and so kept *Chudleigh*, the Major General of the Parliament Forces, from raising a Body there; which he industriously intended.

In those necessary and brisk expeditions in falling upon *Chagford* (a little Town in the South of *Devon*) before day, the King lost *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a constitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his observation of the wickedness of those Men in the House of Commons; of which he was a Member, out of the pure indignation of his Soul against them, and conscience to his Country, had, with the first, engaged himself with that Party in the West: and though he thought not fit to take Command in a Profession he had not willingly chosen, yet as his advice was of great Authority with all the Commanders, being always one in the Council of War, and whose notable abilities they had still use of in their Civil Transactions, so he exposed his Person to all Action, Travel, and Hazard; and by too forward engaging himself in this last, re-

B O O K
VI.
Mr. Sidney
Godolphin
slain.

B O O K received a mortal shot by a Musquet, a little above the
VI. knee, of which he died in the instant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwise have had a mention to the world.

The King's
 Cornish
 Forces come
 to Tavistock.

After this, which happened about the end of *January*, in respect of the season of the year, and the want of Ammunition, finding that they could make no impression upon the strong-holds of the Enemy, they retired, with their whole Forces, to *Tavistock*; where they refreshed, and rested themselves many days, being willing to ease their fast Friends of *Cornwal* as much as was possible from the trouble, and charge of their little Army. The difficulties they were entangled with were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the West were so entirely possessed by the Enemy, that they could have no correspondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one Messenger in ten arriving at his Journey's end. Then though the Justice, and Piety of the cause, added much power to particular Persons in raising an Army; yet the money that was raised for the maintenance, and payment of that Army, was entirely upon the Reputation, Credit, and Interest of particular Men: and how long that spring would supply those streams, the most Sanguine among them could not presume; but the want of Ammunition troubled them most of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low store of *Pendennis*-Castle, and what they had won from the Enemy; the first wanted a supply for it's own provision, but which way to procure that supply they could not imagine; and the fear, and apprehension of such straits, against which no probable

hopes occur, is more grievous and insupportable, B O O K
than any present want. VI.

In this instant, as if sent by Providence, they met Captain Car-
with an opportunity they had scarce Courage to hope teret supplies
for: Captain *Carteret*, the Controller of the King's them with
Navy, having in the beginning of the Troubles, Ammunition.
after he had refused to have Command in their Fleets,
without noise withdrawn Himself and his Family out
of *England* to *Jersy*, and being there impatient of
being quiet, whilst his Master was in the Field, trans-
ported himself into *Cornwal* with a purpose to raise a
Troop of Horse, and to engage in that Service: when
he came thither, he was unanimously importuned
by the Commanders, after they had acquainted him
with their hopeless, and desperate want of Powder,
to assist them in that manner, that the many good
Ports in their power, might be made of some use to
them in the supply of Powder: whereupon he shortly
returned into *France*; and first upon his own Credit,
and then upon return of such Commodities out of
Cornwal as they could well spare, he supplied them
with such great proportions of all kinds of Ammuni-
tions, that they never found want after.

In the mean time, when they were clouded with
that want, at *Tavistock*, some Gentlemen of *Cornwal*
who adhered to the Rebels, and were thereby dis-
possessed of their County, made some Overtures,
“ that a Treaty might be entered into, whereby the
“ Peace of those two Counties of *Cornwal*, and
“ *Devon*, might be settled, and the War be removed
“ into other parts.” They who had most experience
of the humors and dispositions of the Faction Party,

B O O K

VI.

A Treaty be-
tween the two
Parties in
Devon, and
Cornwal.

This Protesta-
tion being first
taken by both.

easily concluded the little hope of Peace by such a Treaty; yet the Proposition was so Specious and Popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between Persons chosen of either side; and the Earl of *Stamford* himself seemed so ingenuous, that at the very first meeting, to show their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Person employed and trusted in the Treaty, should first make a Protestation in these words. “ I do solemnly vow, and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I do not only come a Commissioner to this Treaty, with a hearty and fervent desire of concluding an honorable and firm Peace between the two Counties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*; but also will, to the utmost of my power, prosecute, and really endeavour to accomplish and effect the same, by all lawful ways and means I possibly can; first by maintaining the Protestant Religion established by Law in the Church of *England*, the just Rights and Prerogative of our Sovereign Lord the King, the just Privileges, and Freedom of Parliaments; together with the just Rights and Liberty of the Subjects; and that I am without any intention (by fomenting this unnatural War) to gain, or hope to advantage myself with the real, or personal Estate of any Person whatsoever, or obtaining any Office, Command, Title of Honor, Benefit, or Reward, either from the King’s Majesty, or either, or both Houses of Parliament now assembled. And this I take, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same at His Tribunal, according to the literal sense and

“ meaning of the foregoing Words , without any
 “ Equivocation , mental Reservation , or other
 “ Evasion whatsoever. So help me God.”

B O O K
 VI.

The taking this Protestation with that solemnity , and the blessed Sacrament thereupon , made even those who before expected little fruit from the Treaty, believe, that Men being so engaged, would not be liable to those Passions, and Affections , which usually transported that Party; and so to hope that some Good might proceed from it : and therefore the King's Party were easily induced to retire with their Forces into *Cornwal* ; and thereupon , a Truce , and Cessation , was agreed upon , that a Treaty might proceed without Interruption. In which Treaty , the same continuing beyond the expiration of the present year 1642 , We shall for the present leave them ; that We may take a short survey of the Northern Parts, and remember by what degrees They came to feel the Calamities , and to bear Their Burden in the Civil War.

A Truce and
 Cessation
 thereupon.

When the King left *Yorkshire* , he appointed Sir *Thomas Glemham* , at the desire of the Gentlemen of that County as was before remembered , to stay in *York* , to order and command those Forces, which they should find necessary to raise , to defend themselves from the excursions of *Hull* , whence young *Hotham* infested the Country more than his Father ; who was willing enough to sit still in his Garrison , where he believed he could make advantage upon the success of either Party ; and they who were most inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord *Fairfax* , and his Son were the chief) from whom the King

An account of
 the Northern
 Parts disposi-
 tion, at that
 time.

BOOK

VI.

was so far from expecting any notable mischief, that he left them all at their own Houses, when he went from thence; and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away Prisoners with him) were rather desirous to look on, than engage themselves in the War; presuming that one Battle would determine all disputes, and the Party which prevailed in that, would find a general submission throughout the Kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was scarce one Conclusion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the War, than that generally received opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one visible difference like to beget distractions in the County, which was about the Militia, the King appointing it to be governed, and disposed by the Commission of Array, and the Parliament by Their Ordinance; for the composing whereof, the Gentlemen of the several opinions, proposed, between themselves, “that neither the One, nor the Other” should be meddled with; but that all should be contented to sit still, without engagement to either “Party:” this seemed very reasonable to the Parliament. Party there, who were rather carried away with an implicate reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal disease of the whole Kingdom at that time) than really transported with the passion and design of the furious part of it; and who plainly discerned that, by much the greatest part of the Persons of Honor, Quality, and Interest in the County, would cordially oppose their Proceedings: For, besides the Lord *Fairfax*, there were in truth

few of good Reputation, and Fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's Party thought Their work done by it; for they having already sent two good Regiments of Foot, the one under Colonel *John Bellasis*, younger Son to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, and the other under Sir *William Pennyman*; and two Regiments of Dragoons, the one under Colonel *Duncomb*, the other, under Colonel *Gowre*; besides three or four good Troops of Horse; and the King being at that distance, that they could not send Him farther supply they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the County in such a Peace, that it might do the King no harm by sending Men to the Earl of *Essex*, or adhering to the Garrison of *Hull*; and concluding, as the other did, that the decision between the King and Parliament would be at the first Encounter. Upon these deliberations, Articles were solemnly drawn up, consented to and subscribed by the Lord *Fairfax*, and *Henry Bellasis*, the Heir Apparent of the Lord *Falconbridge*, who were the two Knights who served in Parliament for *Yorkshire*, nearly allied together, and of great kindness till their several opinions, and affections had divided them in this Quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament, the latter, with great Courage and Sobriety, to the King.

Articles of
Neutrality
agreed in
Yorkshire
between both
parties.

With them, the Principal Persons of either Party subscribed the Articles, and gave their mutual Faiths to each other, that they would observe them; being indeed no other than an Engagement of Neutrality, and to assist neither Party. Of all the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, there were only two Dissenters on the Parlia-

BOOK
VI.

ment side, young *Hotham*, and Sir *Edward Rhodes*; who, though of the better Quality, was not so much known, or considered, as the other. But they quickly found Seconds enough; for the Parliament no sooner was informed of this Transaction, than they expressed their detestation of it, and gently in words (though scornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Party, “for being
“cozened, and over-reached by the other:” They declared, “that none of the Parties to that Agreement had any Authority to bind that County to
“any such Neutrality, as was mentioned in that
“Agreement; it being a peculiar and proper Power,
“and Privilege of Parliament, where the whole
“Body of the Kingdom is represented, to bind all,
“or any part thereof: That it was very prejudicial
“and dangerous to the whole Kingdom, that one
“County should withdraw themselves from the
“Assistance of the rest, to which they were bound
“by Law, and by several Orders and Declarations
“of Parliament. That it was very derogatory to the
“Power and Authority of Parliament, that any
“private Men should take upon them to suspend
“the execution of the Ordinance of the Militia,
“declared by both Houses to be according to Law,
“and very necessary, at that time, for the preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.
“And therefore, they said, they thought themselves bound in Conscience, to hinder all farther proceedings upon that Agreement;” and ordered; that no such Neutrality should be observed in that
“County. For if they should suffer particular Counties

But disowned
by the Parlia-
ment, upon
which they

“ ties to divide themselves from the rest of the King-
 “ dom, it would be a means of bringing all to Ruin
 “ and Destruction.” And therefore they farther de-
 “ clared, that “neither the Lord *Fairfax*, nor the
 “ Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, who were Parties to
 “ those Articles, nor any other Inhabitants of that
 “ County, were bound by any such agreement; but
 “ required them to pursue their former Resolutions,
 “ of Maintaining and Assisting the Parliament, in
 “ Defence of the Common Cause, according to the
 “ General Protestation wherein they were bound
 “ with the rest of the Kingdom, and against the
 “ Particular Protestation by themselves lately made;
 “ and according to such Orders and Commissions
 “ as they should receive from both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment, from the Committee of the Lords and Com-
 “ mons appointed for the Safety of the Kingdom,
 “ or from the Earl of *Essex* Lord General.” And lest
 this their Declaration should not be of Power enough
 to Dissolve this Agreement, they published their
 Resolution, and directed that “Mr. *Hotham*, and
 “ Sir *Edward Rhodes*, should proceed upon their
 “ former Instructions; and that they should have
 “ power to seize, and apprehend all Delinquents
 “ that were so Voted by the Parliament, and all
 “ such others, as Delinquents, as had, or did show
 “ themselves opposite and disobedient to the Orders
 “ and Proceedings of Parliament.”

B O O K

VI.

 entered into
 Acts of Hosti-
 lity there.

Upon this Declaration, and Vote, not only young
Hotham fell to the practice of Acts of Hostility, with
 all Licence, out of the Garrison at *Hull*, but the
 Lord *Fairfax* himself, and all the Gentlemen of that

B O O K
VI.

Party, who had, with that Protestation, signed the Articles, instead of resenting the reproach to themselves, tamely submitted to those unreasonable conclusions: and, contrary to their solemn Promise and Engagement, prepared themselves to bear a part in the War, and made all haste to Levy Men.

Upon so great a disadvantage were the King's Party in all places; who were so precise in promises, and their personal undertakings, that they believed they could not serve the King, and his Cause, if Their Reputation and Integrity were once blemished, though some particular Contract proved to his disadvantage: whilst the Others exposed their Honors for any present Temporary conveniencies, and thought themselves Absolved by any new Resolution of the Houses, to whose Custody their Honor, and Ingenuity was committed. The present disadvantage of this Rupture was greater to the King's Party there, than to the other. For (besides that many who concurred with them very frankly and solicitously in the Neutrality, separated themselves from them now there was a necessity of Action) they had neither Money to raise Men, nor Arms to arm them; so that the strength consisted in the Gentlemen themselves, and their Retinue; who, by the good Affections of the Inhabitants of *York*, were strong enough to secure one another within the Walls of that City. Then the Earl of *Cumberland*, in whom the chief power of Command was to raise Men and Money in a case of necessity, though he was a Person of entire devotion to the King, was in his nature Unactive, and utterly unexperienced in Affairs and Exigents of that Nature.

On the other hand, the opposite Party was strengthened and enabled by the strong Garrison of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham*, on all occasions, was ready to second them with his Troop of Horse, and to take up any well affected Person who was suspected to be Loyal; which drove all resolved Men from their Houses into *York*, where they only could be safe. The other could have what Men more they desired from *London*, and both ready Money from thence to *Hull*, and Ordinances to raise what they would in the County to pay them. *Leeds*, *Hallifax*, and *Bradford*, three very populous, and rich Towns (which depending wholly upon Clothiers too much maligned the Gentry) were wholly at their disposition. Their Neighbours in *Lincolnshire* were in a Body to second them, and Sir *John Gell* was on the same behalf possessed of *Derby*, and all that County, there being none that had the hardiness Yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sir *John Hotham's* wariness had not kept him from being active, and his Pride, and Contempt of the Lord *Fairfax*, upon whom the County chiefly depended, hindered him from seconding, and assisting his Lordship; or if any Man had Had the entire Command of those parts, and Forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little resistance, been absolute Masters of all *Yorkshire*; and, as easily of the City itself. But their want of Union in Particulars, though they agreed too well in the Main, gave the King's Party time to breathe, and to look about for their preservation. Thereupon, they sent to the Earl of *New-Castle*

B O O K for Assistance ; offering , “ if he would march into
VI. “ *Yorkshire* , they would join with him , and be
 “ entirely Commanded by him ; ” the Earl of *Cum-*
berland willingly offering to wave any Title to
 Command.

It was before remembered , that when the King
 left *York* , he had sent the Earl of *New-Castle* , as a
 Person of great Honor , and Interest in those parts ,
 to be Governor of *New-Castle* ; and so to secure that
 Port , that the Parliament might neither seize it , nor
 the *Scots* be bribed by it to come to the Assistance of
 their Brethren. Which Commission from the King ,
 his Lordship no sooner executed , without the least
 Hostility (for that Town received him with all pos-
 sible acknowledgments of the King’s goodness in
 sending him) but he was impeached by the House
 of Commons of High-Treason. From his going thither
 (which was in *August*) till toward the end of *Novem-*
ber , the Earl spent his time in disposing the People
 of *Northumberland* , and the Bishopric of *Durham* ,
 to the King’s Service , and to a right understanding of
 the matters in difference ; in the Fortifying *New-*
Castle , and the River ; where by that Harbour might
 only be in the King’s Obedience ; in raising a Garrison
 for that place , and providing Arms for a farther
 advance of the King’s Service. Then he provided
 for the Assistance of his Friends in *Yorkshire* , whose
 Condition grew every day more desperate. For the
 Parliament , finding the inconveniencies of having
 no Commander in Chief in those parts , had caused
 their Generalissimo , the Earl of *Essex* , to send a Com-
 mission to the Lord *Fairfax* , “ to Command all the

“ Forces of *Yorkshire*, and the adjacent Counties, B O O K
 “ in Chief;” by which, in less time than could be VI.
 reasonably imagined, he was able to draw together Fairfax made
 an Army of five or six thousand Horse and Foot; General of
 so that *York* must presently have been swallowed up. Yorkshire for
the Parlia-

But, in the beginning of *December*, the Earl of ment
New-Castle marched to their Relief; and having left The Earl of
 a good Garrison in *New-Castle*, and fixed such small New-Castle
 Garrisons in his way, as might secure his Communi- comes from
 cation with that Port, to which all his Ammunition New-Castle
 was to be brought; with a Body of near three thou- into York.
 sand Foot, and six or seven hundred Horse and
 Dragoons, without any Encounter with the Enemy
 (though they had threatened loud) he entered *York*;
 having lessened the Enemies strength, without Blood,
 both in Territories and Men. For, as soon as he
 entered *Yorkshire*, two Regiments raised in *Rich-*
mondshire, and *Cleveland*, dissolved of themselves;
 having it yet in their choice to dwell at Home, or to
 leave their Houses to new Comers. The Earl being
 now master of the North as far as *York*, thought
 rather of forming an Army, and providing Money
 to pay it, than of making any farther progress in the
 Winter; and therefore suffered the Lord *Fairfax*
 to enjoy the Southern part of that large rich County,
 till the Spring, and the improvement of his condi-
 tion, should enable him to advance: Yet few days
 passed without blows, in which the Parliament-
 Forces had usually the worst.

Shortly after the Earl's coming to *York*, General
King repaired to him, whom he made Lieutenant
 General of his Army; who, notwithstanding the

B O O K VI. unavoidable prejudice, in that Conjunction, of his being a *Scotch*-man, ordered the Foot with great wisdom and dexterity: the Charge of the Horse being at the same time committed to General *Goring*; who, by the Queen's favor, notwithstanding all former failings, was recommended to that Province, and quickly applied himself to Action: so that, though the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby*, and *Cawood*, both within a small distance from *York*, the Earl was absolute Master of the Field. And now the North yielded secure footing for those who had been unreasonably persecuted for their Obedience to the King, the Queen herself thought of returning into *England*.

Her Majesty had, from her first going into *Holland*, dexterously endeavoured to advance the King's Interest, and sent very great quantities of Arms and Ammunition to *New-Castle* (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament-Agents in those parts, and the power of their Ships, too much of it was intercepted) with some considerable Sums of Money, and good store of Officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to serve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majesty's, and her known grace and favor to the Person of the Earl of *New-Castle*, who she well knew had contracted many Enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that Army was by the Parliament styled the *Queen's Army*, and the *Catholic Army*, thereby to expose her Majesty the more to the rude malice of the People, and the Army to their prejudice; persuading them, "that it consisted of none but professed Papists, who intended

“ nothing but the extirpation of the Protestants , B O O K
 “ and establishing their own Profession ” VI.

About the middle of *February*, the Queen took Shipping from *Holland*, in a States Man of War, assigned by the Prince of *Orange* with others for her Convoy, and arrived safely in *Burlington-Bay*, upon the Coast of *Yorkshire*; where she had the patience to stay on Shipboard at Anchor, the space of two days, till the Earl had notice, “ to draw such a part “ of his Forces that way, as might secure her Land- “ ing, and wait on her to *York*,” which he no sooner did (and he did it with all imaginable expedition) but her Majesty came on Shore; and, for the present, was pleased to refresh herself in a convenient House upon the very Key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of Moment to be unshipped before she could reasonably enter upon her Journey towards *York*.

The Queen
arrives at
Burlington
from Holland.

The second day after the Queen's Landing, *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her passage) with four of the King's Ships, arrived in *Burlington-Road*; and, finding that her Majesty was Landed, and that she lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the nearest distance, being very early in the morning, discharged above a hundred Cannon (whereof many were laden with Cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours upon the House where her Majesty was lodged; whereupon she was forced out of her Bed, some of the shot making way through her own Chamber; and to shelter herself under a Bank in the open

B O O K VI. Fields; which Barbarous and Treasonable Act, was so much the more odious, in that the Parliament never so far took notice of it, as to disavow it. So that many believed it was very pleasing to, if not Commanded by Them; and that if the Ships had encountered at Sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have destroyed her Majesty.

The Earl of New-Castle fixed a Garrison at Newark.

The Queen shortly after removed to *York*, and the King's affairs prospered to that degree, that, as the Earl of *New-Castle* had before fixed a Garrison at *Newark* in *Nottinghamshire*, which kept the Forces of *Lincoln* from joining entirely with the Lord *Fairfax*, and had with great Courage beaten off a formed Body of the Rebels who attempted it; so he now sent *Charles Cavendish*, the younger Brother of the Earl of *Devonshire*, with a Party Volant of Horse and Dragoons, into *Lincolnshire*; where, about the middle of *March*, he assaulted *Grantham*, a new Garrison of the Rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred Prisoners, with all their Officers, Arms, and Ammunition: and, about the same time, Sir *Hugh Cholmondeley*, who had done very notable service to the Parliament, and oftner defeated the Earl of *New-Castle's* Troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that Party, rather by the engagement of Sir *John Hotham*, with whom he had long friendship, than by his own inclination) than any Officer of those parts, very frankly revolted to his Allegiance; and waiting on her Majesty for her Assurance of his Pardon, delivered up the Castle of *Scarborough* (a place of importance) to the King; the Command and Government whereof, was again by the Earl

Sir Hugh Cholmondeley delivered up Scarborough Castle to the Queen.

committed to him; which he discharged with Courage, and singular Fidelity. By this means, and those successes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood*, and *Tadcaster*, and retired to *Pomfret*, and *Hallifax*; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, possessed of that whole large County, and so able to help his Neighbours. This was the State of that part of the North which was under the Earl of *New-Castle's* Commission: For *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*, were in a worse condition; of which, and the Neighbour-Counties, it will be necessary in the next place to say somewhat; and of those first which lie farthest off.

B O O K
VI.

The condition
at that time
of Lancashire,
Cheshire, and
Shropshire.

We have said before, that when the King left *Shrewsbury*, and marched to meet the Earl of *Essex* (which he did at *Edge-hill*) all his designs being to come to a Battle; and the opinion of most, that a Battle would determine all; he was to apply all the strength and forces he could possibly raise, to the increasing his Army; so that he left no Garrison behind him, but relied upon the Interest and Authority of the Lord *Strange* (who was, by the death of his Father, now Earl of *Derby*) to suppress all Commotions, and Insurrections, which might happen in the Counties of *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire*; which his Lordship was confident he should be able to do, and was then generally believed to have a greater Influence upon those two Counties, and a more absolute Command over the People in them, than any Subject in *England* had, in any other Quarter of the Kingdom. The Town of *Shrewsbury*, and that good County, where the King had been

B O O K
VI.

so prosperous (and by which the People were more engaged) he intrusted only to that good spirit that then possessed it, and to the Legal Authority of the Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace. And it fared in those Counties as in all other parts of the Kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still, was greater than of those who desired to engage in either Party; so that they were generally inclined to Articles of Neutrality. And in *Cheshire*, the active People of Both sides came to those Capitulations, with as much solemnity as had been in *Yorkshire*, and by the same Declaration of the Parliament (so much the Same, that there was no other difference but alterations of Names and Places) were absolved from the observation of them. And then Sir *William Bruerton*, a Gentleman, of a competent Fortune in that County, and Knight for that Shire in Parliament, but most notorious for a known aversion to the Government of the Church, bringing with him from *London*, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, marched thither to protect those who were of that Party, and, under such a shelter, to encourage them to appear.

The City of *Chester* was firm to the King, by the virtue of the Inhabitants, and Interest of the Bishop, and Cathedral-Men; but especially by the reputation, and dexterity of Mr. *O. Bridgman*, Son to the Bishop, and a Lawyer of very good estimation; who not only informed them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his Credit and Estate, both which were very good, supplied them with whatsoever was necessary for their defence; so

that they were not put to be Honest and Expensive together. But as they had no Garrison of Soldiers, so they had no Officer of skill and experience to manage, and direct that Courage which, at least, was willing to defend their own Walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King sent thither Sir *Nicholas Byron*, a Soldier of very good Command, with a Commission to be "Colonel-General of *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*; and to be Governor of *Chester*;" who being a Person of great affability, and dexterity, as well as Martial knowledge, gave great life to the designs of the well affected there; and, with the encouragement of some Gentlemen of North-*Wales*, in a short time raised such a power of Horse and Foot, as made often Skirmishes with the Enemy; sometimes with notable advantage, never with any signal loss. Sir *William Bruerton* fortified *Namptwich*, as the King's Party did *Chester*; from which Garrisons, containing both their Forces, they contended which should most prevail upon, that is most subdue, the Affections of the County, to declare for, and join with them. But the fair expectation of *Cheshire* was clouded by the storms that arose in *Lancashire*, where Men of no Name, and contemned Interest, by the mere credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the People, on a sudden snatched that large and populous County, from their Devotion to the Earl of *Derby*.

The Town of *Manchester* had, from the beginning (out of that Factious humor which possessed most Corporations, and the pride of their Wealth) opposed the King, and declared magisterially for the

B O O K
VI.

Parliament. But as a great part of the County consisted of Papists, of whose Insurrections they had made such use in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to Alarm the People with dangers; so it was confidently believed, that there was not one Man of ten throughout that County, who meant not to be dutiful, and loyal to the King: yet the restless spirit of the seditious Party was so sedulous, and industrious, and every one of the Party so ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of *Derby* so Unactive, and so uncomplying with those who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorously against the Enemy; or, through want of experience, so irresolute, that instead of countenancing the King's Party in *Cheshire*, which was expected from him, the Earl, insensibly, found *Lancashire* to be almost possessed against him: the Rebels, every day, gaining, and fortifying all the strong Towns, and surprising his Troops, without any considerable Encounter. And yet, so hard was the King's condition, that though he knew those great misfortunes proceeded from want of Conduct, and of a vigorous and expert Commander, he thought it not safe to make any alteration, lest that Earl might be provoked, out of disdain to have any Superior in *Lancashire*, to manifest how much he could do Against him, though it appeared he could do little For him. Yet it was easily discerned, that his Ancient power there depended more upon the Fear, than Love of the People; there being very many, now in this time of Liberty, engaging themselves

against the King, that they might not be subject to that Lord's Commands. B O O K
VI.

However, the King committing *Lancashire* still to his Lordship's care (whose Fidelity, without doubt, was blameless, whatever his Skill was) he sent the Lord *Capel* to *Shrewsbury*, with a Commission of "Lieutenant General of *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and "North-*Wales*;" who, being a Person of great Fortune, and Honor, quickly engaged those parts in a cheerful Association; and raised a Body of Horse and Foot, that gave Sir *William Bruerton* so much trouble at *Namptwich*, that the Garrison at *Chester* had breath to enlarge it's Quarters, and to provide for it's own security; though the Enemy omitted no opportunity of infesting them, and gave them as much trouble as was possible. It cannot be denied but Sir *William Bruerton*, and the other Gentlemen of that Party, albeit their Educations, and course of life, had been very different from their present Engagements, and for the most part were very unpromising in matters of War, and therefore were too much contemned Enemies, executed their Commands with notable Sobriety, and indefatigable Industry (virtues not so well practised in the King's Quarters) insomuch as the best Soldiers who encountered with them, had no cause to despise them. It is true, they had no other straits, and difficulties to struggle with, than what proceeded from their Enemy; being always supplied with Money to pay their Soldiers, and with Arms to Arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppress the People. And thereby (besides the spirit of Faction

B O O K that much governed) the Common-People were
VI. more devoted to them, and gave them all Intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intrusted to govern the King's Affairs, had intolerable difficulties to pass through; being to raise Men without Money, to Arm them without Weapons (that is they had no Magazine to supply them) and to keep them together without Pay; so that the Country was both to Feed, and Clothe the Soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the Burden, and forget the Quarrel.

The difference in the temper of the Common-People of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the Parliament, left nothing unperformed that might advance the Cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross, and hinder whatsoever might promote the King's: whereas they who Wished well to Him, thought they had performed their duty in doing So, and that they had done enough For him, in that they had done nothing Against him.

The condition
 at that time, of
 the Counties
 between Ox-
 ford, and York.

Though, by this sending the Lord *Capel*, those Counties of *Shropshire*, and *Cheshire*, with the Assistance of North-*Wales*, kept those parts so near their Obedience, that their Disobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in sending Assistance to the Earl of *Essex* against his Majesty, or to the Lord *Fairfax* against the Earl of *New-Castle*; yet those Counties which lay in the line between *Oxford* and *York*, were, upon the matter, entirely possessed by the Enemy. The Garrison of *Northampton* kept that whole County in obedience to the Parliament, save, that from

Banbury the adjacent Parts were forced to bring some contribution thither. In *Warwickshire* the King had no footing; the Castle of *Warwick*, the City of *Coventry*, and his own Castle of *Killingworth*, being fortified against him. The Lord *Grey*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford*, had the Command of *Leicestershire*; and had put a Garrison into *Leicester*. *Derbyshire*, without any visible Party in it for the King, was under the power of Sir *John Gell*, who had fortified *Derby*. And all these Counties, with *Staffordshire*, were united in an Association against the King under the Command of the Lord *Brook*; who was, by the Earl of *Essex*, made General of that Association; a Man cordially Disaffected to the Government of the Church, and upon whom that Party had a great dependance. This Association received no other Interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel *Hastings* gave; who, being a younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, had appeared eminently for the King from the beginning; having raised a good Troop of Horse with the first, and, in the head thereof, charged at *Edge-hill*.

After the King was settled at *Oxford*, Colonel *Hastings*, with his own Troop of Horse only, and some Officers which he easily gathered together, went with a Commission into *Leicestershire* “ of
“ Colonel General of that County, and fixed him-
“ self at *Ashby de la Zouch*,” the House of the Earl of *Huntington*, his Father, who was then living; which he presently fortified; and, in a very short time, by his Interest there, raised so good a Party of Horse and Foot, that he maintained many Skirmishes with

B O O K
VI.

the Lord Grey: the King's Service being the more advanced there, by the notable Animosities between the two Families of *Huntington* and *Stamford*; between whom the County was divided passionately enough, without any other Quarrel. And now the Sons fought the Public Quarrel, with their Private Spirit and Indignation. But the King had the advantage in His Champion, the Lord Grey being a young Man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the Credit and Authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel *Hasting's* though a younger Brother, by his personal reputation, had supported his Family; and, by the interest of It, and the Affection that People bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of Power to the very Cause. Infomuch as he not only defended himself against the Forces of the Parliament in *Leicestershire*, but disquieted Sir *John Gell* in *Derbyshire*, and fixed some convenient Garrisons in *Staffordshire*.

About the same time, some Gentlemen of that County, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in *Lichfield* for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a Moat, and a very high and thick Wall; which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To suppress this growing Force, within the limits of his Association the Lord *Brook* advanced with a formed Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon; part drawn from the Earl of *Essex's*, Army, and the rest out of the Garrisons of *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; and without any resistance, entered
the

the City of *Lichfield*, which, being unfortified, was open to all Comers. The Number in the Close was not great, nor their Provisions such as should have been, and very well might have been, made; so that he made no doubt of being speedily Master of it: Sir *John Gell* having brought up a good addition of strength to him from *Derby*. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged, that himself lodged in a House within Musquet-shot of the Close; where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his Chamber, and the Window open, he was, from the Wall of the Close, by a Common-Soldier, shot with a Musquet in the Eye; of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

The Lord
Brook shot in
belieging the
Carhedral of
Lichfield
which was
soon after
taken by Sir
John Gell.

There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon Sir *Chad's* day (being the second day of *March*) by whose Name he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of Christianity in this Island, that Church had been anciently called. And it was reported, that in his Prayer, that very Morning (for he used to pray publicly though his Caplain were in the presence) he wished, "that
" if the Cause he were in, were not right and just, he
" might be presently cut off." They who were acquainted with him, believed him to be well natured, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his Passions or Conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the Government of Church or State: And therefore his death was looked upon as no ill Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly

B O O K lamented by His Party; which had scarce a more
VI. absolute confidence in any Man than in him. However, it brought not that relief to the besieged in the Close as was believed it would; for the same Forces under Sir *John Gell* proceeded so vigorously in the work, and they Within so faintly, and unskilfully, that without any of that distress which Men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a short time after, bear against the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of Quarter; by which many Persons became Prisoner, of too good Quality to have their Names remembered.

Stafford
 Garrisoned by
 some Gentle-
 men for the
 King.

By this prize, the Spirits of that Party were much exalted, and the King's Party in those parts as much cast down. Yet some Gentlemen betook themselves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houses, resolved to defend that place; against which Sir *John Gell* drew his late fleshed Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the relief of *Lichfield*, if they had Had any patience to expect it) with a strong Party of Horse, and Dragoons, from his Garrison of *Banbury*, came seasonably to their Succour, and put himself into the Town; and, the same Night, beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he killed and took above a hundred of their Horse. Sir *John Gell* retired so far as to meet with Sir *William Bruerton*, who, from *Namptwich*, was coming to join with him for the subduing of *Stafford*; and having done that, resolved to march in a Body for the clearing the other Counties

When they were joined, being near three thousand Foot, and Horse, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*; imagining the Earl of *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls: and it so fell out; for the Earl no sooner heard that the Rebels were drawing towards the Town; but he drew out his Party to encounter them imagining it could be only *Gell*, whose Numbers he understood, and whose Courage he much undervalued.

It was on a *Sunday*, about the middle of *March*, when, in the afternoon, he marched out of *Stafford*; his Party consisting of Horse, and Dragoons, and some few Foot, the whole Number being under one thousand, and found the Enemy, in very good Order, expecting them upon a place called *Hopton-Heath*, some two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than Musquet-shot from Enclosure on each side, and the number of his Horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly Did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their Horse; and rallying again his Men, he Charged the other part of their Horse, which stood more in shelter of their Foot; and so totally routed, and dispersed them, that the Enemy had scarce a Horse left upon the Field; and took likewise from them eight pieces of Cannon.

In this second Charge, the Earl of *Northampton* being engaged on the execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horse killed under him. So that

B O O K
VI.

his own Horse (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury pursuing the Chase , he was left encompassed by his Enemies. What His behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Testimony of the Rebels; who confessed, that after he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of Foot who made first haste to him; and that after his head-piece was stricken off with the But end of a Musquet, they offered him Quarter; which, they say, he refused; answering, " that he scorned to take Quarter from " such base Rogues, and Rebels, as They were." After which, he was slain by a blow with a Halbert on the hinder-part of his head, receiving, at the same time another deep wound in his face.

The Earl of
Northampton
staid on the p-
ton Heath near
Stafford, (
having first
vanquished
the Enemies
Horse that
opposed him.

All this time the Enemies Foot stood, which (after their Horse were dispersed) Sir *Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of *Wales's* Regiment, a Gentleman of great Courage, and of very good Conduct, Charged with good execution. But the Night came on a-pace, and the Field which they thought so fair, was found full of Coal pits, and holes dangerous for their Horse; so that they thought fit to forbear farther Actions, till they might have the Morning's light; and stood all that Night in the Field. When the Morning appeared, there was no Enemy to be seen. For as soon as the Fight ended, and the Night drew on, that they were unperceived, they had left the Field, in hope that their scattered Horse would find them in Quarters more remote from the danger. The Victorious Party was so harassed with duty, and tired with the Fight, so cast

down with the loss of their General, and so destitute of Officers to Direct and Command, what was next to be done (For the Lord *Compton*, the Earl's eldest Son, had received a shot in the Leg; Sir *Thomas Byron* a shot in the Thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the Field; and many other Officers hurt) that they retired to refresh themselves at *Stafford*, after they had taken the Spoil of the Field and buried their Dead.

In this Fight, which was sharp, and short, there were killed and taken Prisoners, of the Parliament-Party above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the Horse Charging among their Foot more were hurt than killed Eight pieces of their Cannon, and most of their Ammunition was likewise taken. Of the Earl's Party were slain but five-and twenty, whereof there were two Captains, some inferior Officers, and the rest Common-Men: but there were as many hurt, and those of the chief Officers. They who had all the Ensigns of Victory, but their General, thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the Night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead Body with them, hardly believed they were losers:

*Et, velut æquali bellatum sorte fuisset,
Componit cum classe virum——*

The truth is, a greater Victory had been an unequal recompense for such a loss. He was a Person of great Courage, Honor, and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himself

BOOK
VI.

with that licence which was then thought necessary to great Fortunes: but from the beginning of these Distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a Lethargy, he never proceeded with a luke-warm temper. Before the Standard was set up, he appeared in *Warwickshire* against the Lord *Brook*, and as much upon his own Reputation as the Justice of the Cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of that County. Afterwards he took the Ordnance from *Banbury* Castle, and brought them to the King. As soon as an Army was to be raised, he Levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; and (not like some other Men, who warily distributed their Family to both sides, one Son to serve the King, whilst his Father, or another Son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel; having four Sons Officers under him, whereof three Charged that day in the Field: And, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in Duty. All distresses he bore like a Common-Man, and all wants, and hardneses, as, if he had never known plenty, or ease; most prodigal of his Person to danger; and would often say, "that if he out-lived these Wars, he was certain " never to have so noble a death." So that it is not to be wondered, if, upon such a stroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a Limb.

As soon as it was known where the Enemy rested after their Retreat, the young Earl of *Northampton*

sent a Trumpet to Sir *John Gell*, to desire the Body of his Father, that he might give it such decent burial as became him. *Gell* and *Bruerton*, jointly, by Letter, demanded, “in exchange for the dead Body, all their Ammunition, Prisoners, and Cannon, they had lost at the Battle;” which demands being so unreasonable, and against the Law of Arms, the Earl sent again to them, to desire, “that if they would not return the Corps, that his Surgeon might have leave to embalm it, whereby it might be preserved to receive those rights, when they should be willing to gratify him, which, he presumed, upon more dispassioned thoughts, they would be.” Their Answer to this was as unreasonable as the other, “That they would neither send the Body, nor permit his Surgeons to come to embalm it;” presuming, it is probable, that the piety of the Son would have prevailed to have their unheard of Propositions complied with.

And so We shall, for the present, leave these parts, and visit the Principality of *Wales*; of which, hitherto, very little hath been said; and from the Affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having supplied him with three or four good Regiments of Foot, in which many of their Gentry were engaged, before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

The State of
the Principality
of *Wales* at
that time.

It hath been before remembered, that the Marquis of *Hertford* drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford*, about *Christmas*, near two thousand Men; leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry, and Inhabitants. After

B O O K
VI.

The Lord Herbert, Son of the Earl of Worcester, made General of South Wales.

that North *Wales* lying most convenient to back *Chester*, and *Shrewsbury*, which places, whilst the Enemy was Master of the Field, received their chief supplies of Men and Provisions from thence; the King always put it under the Government of those to whom he committed those parts. South-*Wales* which is much the larger, and richer part of that Dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Worcester*; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding *Monmouthshire* to his Commission.

There were, in the opinion of many, great objections, against committing that Employment to that noble Lord, whose Person many Men loved, and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge, or experience in the Martial Profession; then his Religion, being of that sort of Catholics the People rendered odious, by accusing it to be most Jesuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favoring Papists and Popery, than he had been yet reproached with (for, though he had some Papists entertained in his Armies, yet all Men trusted by him in Superior Commands, were Men of unblemished integrity in the Protestant Religion: and in all his Armies, he had but one General Officer, of the contrary Religion, Sir *Arthur Aston*, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist) This gave opportunity and excuse to many Persons of Quality, and great Interest in those Counties (between whom and that Lord's Family, there had been perpetual Feuds, and Animosities) to lessen their Zeal to the King's Cause,

out of jealousy of the other's Religion; and those Contestations had been lately improved with some sharpness, by the Lord *Herbert's* Carriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his Residence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not showed that due regard to that of the other, which he should have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's Service, if he would have contributed his full Assistance to another, who more popularly might have borne the Title of such a Command.

But on the other side, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the Kingdom, under the Command of some Person of Honor and Interest, was very visible; and the expedition in doing it was as necessary; the Parliament being possessed of *Glocester*, and *Bristol*, and so having such an influence upon the Trade and Livelihood of that People, by their absolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly lost. Besides that, at the same time, there was discourse, in the Houses, "of sending the Earl of *Pembroke* thither," whose Estate was very great in those parts, and his Reputation equal. The Parliament had already such footing in *Pembroke-shire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for Them; and the Harbour of *Milford Haven* gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all supplies, and relief. This being the State of those parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offered, but desired to receive that Command; and engaged

B O O K VI. himself, “ not only to secure it from the Opposition,
 “ and Malignity of the other Party , but, before the
 “ Spring, to raise such a strength of Horse, and Foot,
 “ and to provide such an Equipage to march with ,
 “ that might reduce *Glocester*, and be then added to
 “ the King’s Army, when he should be ready to take
 “ the Field;” and all this so much at his own charge (for
 his Father, who was well able, would furnish Money,
 as was pretended , upon the King’s promise to repay
 him , when he should be restored to his own) “ that
 “ he would receive no part of the King’s Revenue ,
 “ or of such Money, as his Majesty could be able to
 “ draw for the supply of his own more immediate
 “ occasions.”

This was a very great offer ; and such as no Man
 else could so reasonably make. For the Marquis of
Worcester was generally reputed the greatest Monied
 Man of the Kingdom ; and probably, might not
 think it an unthrifty thing , rather to disburse it for
 the King , who might be able to repay it , than to
 have it taken from him by the other Party ; which
 would be hardly questionable if They prevailed. The
 Lord *Herbert* himself was a Man of more than ordi-
 nary Affection and Reverence to the Person of the
 King, and one, who, he was sure , would neither
 deceive nor betray him. For his Religion , it might
 work upon Himself, but could not disquiet other
 Men. For though he were a Papist, he was never
 like to make others so ; and his Reputation and
 Interest was very great with many Gentlemen of
 those Counties, who were not all friends to his Reli-
 gion. It was not possible to employ any Person of

Interest, and Power in those parts; and there were many objections from the Nature, and Manners of that People, against a mere Stranger, against whom there would not be some Faction, and Animosity; for the Emulation, and Dissension between Families was general, and notorious: and therefore it would be best to chuse such a one, who was like to have a greater Faction for him, than against him. And it was to be hoped that the old Grudges, and Prejudices, which had been rather against the House of *Worcester*, and the Popish Religion professed there; than against the Person of this Lord, would have been composed, and declined by his fair and gentle Carriage towards all Men (as in truth he was of a civil, and obliging Nature) and by the public-heartedness of those, who, for the Cause, and Conscience sake, would, it was hoped, sacrifice all trivial and private Contentions to a Union that must vindicate the Religion, Honor, and Justice of the Kingdom.

Upon these reasons, and these presumptions, the King granted such a Commission, as is before mentioned, to the Lord *Herbert*; who, with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believed possible, raised a Body of above fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horse, very well and sufficiently Armed; which increased the merit of the Service.

The Lord
Herbert raises
a little Army.

The Horse he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerset*, a maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawly*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a sprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he marched towards

B O O K
VI.

Glocester, with an ill Omen at his setting out; for a Rabble of the Country-People being got together, without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forest of *Dean*, called *Cover* (through which he was to pass) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a Window killed Colonel *Lawly*, and two Officers more, without hurting a Common-Soldier; whereby that Body was destitute of any Person of experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert* who was himself seldom with his Forces, shortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who, without any skirmish of importance marched through the Forest of *Dean*, and fixed a Quarter, which contained his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Bishop of *Glocester's* Palace, within less than half a Mile of *Glocester*. And by that means, there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go into *Glocester*, he fully Blocked up the Town on that side, expecting that Prince *Maurice* from *Cirencester*, should take equal care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

But Sir *William Waller*, with a light Party of Horse and Dragoons, near two thousand, from the Earl of *Essex's* Army, had made a quick March through *Wiltshire* (after his taking of *Chichester*) and taking, with little loss and trouble, a small Garrison of the King's, consisting of about six or seven score at *Malmsbury*, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards *Cirencester*; where when he found he was expected, by a sudden Night-march, in which he was very dexterous and success-

ful, he posted to the River of *Severn*, six Miles West of *Glocester*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherously, or Sottishly neglected by the Lord *Herbert's* Forces, transported his whole Body, which, upon the advantage of that Pass, might have been resisted by a few Men. Hereupon the consternation was so great among the new *Welsh* Soldiers, very few of their Officers having ever seen an Enemy, that though their Works were too good to be entered by Horse, and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but narrow, in all which they had Cannon planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the Enemy; upon the advance of Sir *William Waller* upon them, without giving, or receiving blow, they fairly sent out to Treat; and as kindly delivered up Themselves, and their Arms, upon the single grant of Quarter: A Submission so like a Stratagem, that the Enemy could hardly trust it. Yet, in the end, they made a shift to put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse, Prisoners into *Glocester*, the Lord *Herbert* himself being at that time at *Oxford*, and the Lord *John Somers* with three or four Troops at a safe distance from the rest.

Is surpris'd by
Sir William
Waller, and
Routed.

This was the end of that Mushroom Army, which grew up and perished so soon, that the loss of it was scarce apprehended at *Oxford*, because the Strength, or rather the Number, was not understood. But if the Money, which was laid out in Raising, Arming, and Paying that Body of Men, which never

BOOK
VI.

advanced the King's Service in the least degree, had been brought into the King's receipt at *Oxford*, to have been employed to the most advantage, I am persuaded the War might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord *Herbert* say, "that those preparations, and the other, which by that Defeat were rendered useless, cost above threescore thousand pounds;" whereof, though much came from the Marquis's Coffers, yet, no doubt, the general Contributions from the Catholics made a good part: and very considerable Sums were received by him of the King's Revenue upon Wardships, and other ways: for it was a common practice in those times, for Men to get into employments upon promises, that they would not do this or that, without which no body else would undertake that Service; and being, upon those terms, received into it, they immediately did the other, because no other Man would do the Service without it.

Sir W. Waller takes Hereford, and Tewkesbury: both which he presently left.

The fame of this prodigious Victory so subdued all those parts, that Sir *William Waller*, with the same spirit of celerity, and attended with the same Success, flew to *Hereford*; and though a walled Town, and replenished with a Garrison, had That likewise delivered to him upon the same terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refused to be admitted into *Worcester*, than he thought reasonable to require it) passed to *Tewkesbury*; which he likewise surprised, being newly Garrisoned; his motion being so quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all possible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light

Skirmishes; and, having taken this progress, returned safe to *Glocester*; and from thence to the Earl of *Essex*'s Army; having made no other use of his Conquests, than the dishonoring so many places, which had so quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one Garrison) the King's Forces immediately entered again. So that his Majesty's Quarters continued the same they were, harassed only, and discountenanced, nothing straitened by this Incurfion; and the Lord *Herbert* again intended new Levies.

Having now, with as much clearness as I could, remembered the true State of the King's Affairs, and the condition of the Kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this sixth Book; I shall, before I return to *Oxford*, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the disconsolate State of *Ireland*; of which advantage was always taken against the King, to render him odious to the People, as if he countenanced, at least not sufficiently abhorred, that wicked, and unnatural Rebellion. And this Imputation was with so great Art insinuated, that it got credit with many; insomuch as I have heard some, who could make no other Excuse for adhering to the Parliament, say, "they were persuaded that the King favored those Rebels;" which, they said, "could not be without some design upon the Religion, Liberty, and Prosperity of *England*." Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds, as ever any Man spoke the heart of another, that the King always looked upon it, as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked

The State of
Ireland at
that time with
reference to
the difference
between the
King and the
two Houses
Here.

B O O K
VI.

Rebellion, that ever possessed the Spirits of that People; and was not more grieved at any one circumstance of the Domestic distractions, than, as it hindered him from chastising, and taking Vengeance upon the Other : which from his Soul he desired.

But in this discourse of *Ireland*, it cannot be expected that I should, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable Actions (in which were great Instances of God's own detestation of those inhuman Rebels, by the signal Victories he gave against them) or the other Transactions within that Kingdom; but shall remember no more of that business, than had immediate reference to, and dependance on, the difference between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

It is said before, that when the first visible rupture was declared between them, which was in the business of *Hull* (which the King understood to be a direct levying of War against him) in the Protestation made by his Majesty, "that he would no farther treat, or concur with them, in any Acts
" proposed by them; till he first received reparation,
" or satisfaction in that particular;" he always excepted what should any way concern *Ireland*: in which he offered to consent to whatsoever might reasonably conduce to the reducing those Rebels, and did, after that, concur in some Propositions of that Nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houses were so busy in preparing the War for *England*, that they did very little prepare for the War of *Ireland*; save only by some small supplies of
Money

Money and Provisions. The King objected to them,
 “ the employing the Monies, raised, by Act of
 “ Parliament, for the preservation and reduction of
 “ *Ireland*, with a special clause that the same should
 “ not be diverted to any other use whatsoever, in
 “ the supporting the unnatural War, and Rebellion
 “ against his Majesty; particularly one hundred
 “ thousand pounds at one time; and that many Sol-
 “ diers raised under pretence of being sent into
 “ *Ireland*, were, contrary to their expectation and
 “ engagement, forced to serve under the Earl of
 “ *Essex* against the King;” of which he named,
 Sir *Faithful Fortescue*’s Regiment of Horse, and the
 Lord *Wharton*’s, and the Lord *Kerry*’s Regiments
 of Foot.

To this they answered, “ that albeit they had,
 “ upon the urgent occasions of this Kingdom, some-
 “ times made use of Monies raised, and collected
 “ for *Ireland*; yet that they had in due time repaid it,
 “ and that the other Affairs had never suffered by the
 “ Loan: And for the Men, that it proceeded from
 “ his Majesty’s own default; for after they had raised
 “ them, with a serious intention to send them into
 “ *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*,
 “ the King refused to grant a Commission to him to
 “ transport them, and so they had been compelled
 “ to use them in their own Service here ”

The King replied, “ that it appeared, they had
 “ diverted that Money to other Uses than those for
 “ which it was provided; which was manifestly
 “ unlawful; and that it did not appear they had
 “ again reimbursed it, because very little supply was

B O O K
VI.

“ sent thither, and very much wanted: and for the
“ Soldiers, that They first levied them, without
“ his Majesty’s leave; which they had always be-
“ fore asked, for their other Levies; and being
“ levied, they desired a Commission for the Lord
“ *Wharton* to Command them absolutely, without
“ any dependance upon the Lord Lieutenant of
“ *Ireland*; which had been never heard of, and
“ which his Majesty refused; but offered such a
“ Commission as was granted to other Men.”

On the other hand, they objected to the King,
“ the seizing some Cart-Horses at *Chester*, provided
“ for the Train of Artillery for *Ireland*; that his
“ Forces had taken many Clothes, and Provisions,
“ on the Road, which were going to *Chester* to be
“ transported thither for the relief of the Soldiers;
“ and that he entertained, and countenanced Men
“ in his Court, which were Favorers or Actors
“ in that Rebellion:” naming the Lord Viscount
Costeloe, and the Lord *Taffe*, which gave great um-
brage to those who were well affected, and as great
encouragement to the Rebels there.

To the first, the King confessed, “ he found about
“ fixscore Horses at *Chester*, which had long lain
“ there; and, at his remove from *Nottingham*,
“ knowing, the other Horse and Men, raised for
“ *Ireland*, were then marching with the Earl of
“ *Essex* against him, he knew not, but these like-
“ wise might be so employed, and therefore in his
“ own necessity took them for his own draughts.
“ For the Clothes, which had been taken by his
“ Soldiers, that it proceeded by the default of the

“ Parliament; who, after the War was begun, had
 “ sent those Carriages through His Quarters, with-
 “ out sending to his Majesty for a Safe-Conduct,
 “ or giving any notice to him of it, till after they
 “ were taken: that it was within two Miles of Co-
 “ ventry (which was then in Rebellion) that those
 “ Clothes were taken; and that, as soon as he knew
 “ they were designed for *Ireland*, his Majesty had
 “ used the best means he could to recover them; but
 “ that the Soldiers, who were almost naked, had
 “ divided them for their own Supplies; and his
 “ Majesty offered to give a Safe-Conduct at all times
 “ for whatsoever should be designed for *Ireland*.”

The occasion of the other reproach, “for coun-
 “ tenancing Persons who adhered to the Rebels,
 “ was this.” The Lords, *Dillon* [Viscount *Costeloe*]
 and *Taffe*, had, four Months before, passed out of
Ireland into *England*, having never been in consort
 with the Rebels, but so much trusted by them, that
 they desired, by Their hands, to address a Petition
 to the King; humble enough, desiring “only to be
 “ heard, and offering to submit to his Majesty’s
 “ single Judgment.” With this Petition, and all
 other Instructions, as they pretended, these Lords
 acquainted the Lords Justices, and Council of *Ire-*
land; who were so well satisfied with the Persons
 employed, that they granted their Safe-Pass, and
 sent Letters by them of Testimony. They were no
 sooner Landed in *England*, but they were appre-
 hended, and sent Prisoners to the Parliament, and
 by them committed with all strictness, “as Agents
 “ employed by the Rebels of *Ireland* to the King;”

B O O K
VI.

and that Circumstance inforced, and spread among the People, with all licentious glosses against the King; who, for that reason, took no notice of their restraint, though from his Ministers he received advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close Imprisonment, these Lords, by Petition, and all other Addresses they could make, pressed to be brought to any kind of Examination and Trial; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their Imprisonment was less close; and, by degrees, under a formal restraint (which though more pleasant, was not less costly) had the liberty of *London*, and from thence, after four Months restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any Trial, which they often desired, they escaped, and came to *York*; whither a Messenger from the House of Commons followed them, and demanded them as Prisoners.

Many were of opinion, that they should have been delivered back; foreseeing that the Parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the King's disadvantage; and any imputations, "of countenancing the Rebels of *Ireland*, found more credit, and made deeper impression with the People, than any other discourses of "protecting Malig-
nants, and Delinquents." On the other side, it was thought, unreasonable, to remit Men to an Imprisonment, which appeared to have been unjust by their not being proceeded against in so long time; especially when their coming to the King would be declared such a crime, that it would be

now in their Enemies power to cause them to be punished; which before they could not do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the House of Commons, from whence no Innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees, as would amount to a greater Sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the King, who wished that they had rather gone any whither than where He was, resolved to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in His Quarters, and put themselves into the Troops; where they behaved themselves with good Courage, and frankly engaged their Persons in all dangerous Enterprises.

In these Jealousies, and Contests, the King being visibly and confessedly unable to send Succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough else to do, and, in truth, not taking so much pains to preserve it, as to impute the loss of it to the King, poor *Ireland* got very small relief. The Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, had received his despatch from the King, before he went to *Shrewsbury*. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to *Chester*, and so to *Ireland*, his Lordship returned to *London*; which increased the King's jealousy, and prejudice to him; which his former Carriage, and a Letter writ lately by him from *Nottingham*, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and by Order of Parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to *London*, the House of Commons demanded "to see the Instructions he had received from the King;" which, as it was unreasonable in them, so he had received

B O O K VI. exprefs Command from the King, "not to communicate them." However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and They continued Peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be perused by the Committee of both Houses. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very slippery, and almost impossible to be safely managed by the most dexterous Person.

He was designed to that employment by the King, shordly upon the death of the Earl of *Strafford* (or rather before; not without some advice from that Earl) with as great circumstances of grace and favor, as could be; and as a Person, of whom entirely the King assured himself, being then so ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were some sharp glances at him in that time (which are before remembered) so nothing preserved him from a public exception, but the Interest of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Sister he had married; whom that Party was not willing to irreconcile. After the Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*, and the King had committed the carrying on the War to the Houses, he thought it absolutely necessary for his Province, to render himself as gracious to that People as was possible; and labored That with so good Effect, and Industry, that he omitted that care which should have been observed in continuing his Interest at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day less satisfied with him; which sure he did not with wariness enough provide against, though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purposes towards either of them; but did sadly project, by his demeanour, and interest

in the Houses, to provide so well for *Ireland*, and to go thither in so good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to serve the King as he should be required.

But one Man is rarely able to act both those parts: For his showing his Instructions, he gave a reason, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuse: "He knew his Instructions were such, that, being perused by the Committee, could by no misconstruction, or possible perversion, be wrested to the King's disadvantage;" as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after they were so peremptorily required, if he should have as peremptorily refused to submit, they would have concluded that there had been somewhat unjustifiable in them, and upon that jealousy made no scruple of publishing the worst reproaches upon his Majesty. And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this contest he had drawn the displeasure of the two Houses upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at Court might have suffered that contest to have depressed him. And when he left the King between *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, his condition was so low at Court, that a Man might have imagined his interest would be best preserved by being within the Verge of the Parliament's Protection. As his return to *London* was besides the King's expectation, so his stay there was longer than seemed to be intended by his own proposal; for he stayed there above two Months, till after the Battle of

BOOK
VI.

Edge-hill, and both Parties being fixed in their Winter Quarters; and then, without waiting again on the King, though *Oxford* was very few Miles out of his way, about the end of *November*, he went to *Chester*, with a purpose of transporting himself for *Ireland*, but without the least appearance of addition of Strength, or Provisions from the Parliament; neither were their Ships there ready to transport him.

About the end of *November*, four Officers of the Army in *Ireland*, Sir *James Montgomery*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin*, having been employed from *Ireland* to solicit the Parliament for Succours, came from *London* to *Oxford*, and delivered a Petition to the King; in which they told him, “ that they had addressed
“ themselves to the Parliament for supplies, whose
“ sense of their Miseries, and Inclination to redress
“ them, appeared very tender to them; but the
“ present distempers of the Kingdom of *England*
“ were grown so great, that all future passages, by
“ which comfort and life should be conveyed to
“ that gasping Kingdom, seemed totally to be ob-
“ structed; so that, unless his Majesty, out of his
“ singular Wisdom, and fatherly Care, applied
“ some speedy remedy, his loyal, and distressed
“ Subjects of that Kingdom must inevitably perish.
“ They acknowledged, his Princely favor and
“ goodness since this Rebellion, so abundantly ex-
“ pressed in a deep sense, and lively resentment of
“ their bleeding condition: And therefore, they
“ besought him, among his other weighty Cares,

“ so to reflect upon the bleeding condition of that
“ perishing Kingdom, that timely relief might be
“ afforded Otherwise his Loyal Subjects there
“ must yield their Fortunes, as a Prey; their Lives,
“ a Sacrifice; and their Religion a Scorn to the mer-
“ ciless Rebels, powerfully assisted from abroad. ”

And indeed the condition of the Protestants, in that Kingdom, was very miserable: for, whilst the distractions of *England* kept them from receiving Succours from thence, the Rebels had Arms, Ammunition, Money, and Commanders, from *Rome*, *Spain*, and *France*; the Pope having sent a formal avowed Nuntio, to whose jurisdiction the *Irish* submitted; and the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, having sent great Supplies, and their Agents, to countenance and foment the Rebellion; who gave notable Countenance to the Assembly and formed Council for the Rebels, settled at *Kilkenny*.

The King, who well knew this Petition was sent by the permission of those at *Westminster*, and that the Agents employed were Men of notorious disaffection to him, who looked for some such Answer as might improve the envy of the People, used the Messengers with all possible grace, and returned them as gracious an Answer: “ That, from the beginning of
“ that monstrous Rebellion, he had Had no greater
“ sorrow, than for the bleeding condition of that
“ his Kingdom. That he had, by all means, labored,
“ that timely relief might be afforded to it, and con-
“ sented to all Propositions, how disadvantageous
“ soever to Himself, that had been offered to him
“ to that purpose; and, not only at first recom-

B O O K
VI.

“ mended their condition to both his Houses of Par-
“ liament, and immediately, of his own mere mo-
“ tion, sent over several Commissions, and caused
“ some proportion of Arms, and Ammunition
“ (which the Petitioners well knew to have been a
“ great support to the Northern parts of that King-
“ dom) to be conveyed to them out of *Scotland*, and
“ offered ten thousand Volunteers to undertake that
“ War; but had often pressed, by many several Mes-
“ sages, that sufficient Succours might be hastened
“ thither, and other matters of smaller importance
“ laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and
“ most really intended, in his own Royal Person, to
“ have undergone the danger of that War, for the
“ defence of his good Subjects, and the chastisement
“ of those perfidious, and barbarous Rebels; and
“ in his several expressions of his desires of Treaty
“ and Peace, he had declared, the miserable present
“ condition and certain future loss of *Ireland*, to be
“ one of the principal Motives most earnestly to de-
“ sire, that the present distractions of This Kingdom
“ might be composed, and that others would concur
“ with him to the same end.

He told them, “he was well pleased, that his
“ Offers, Concurrence, Actions, and Expressions,
“ were so rightly understood by the Petitioners, and
“ those who had employed them (notwithstanding
“ the groundless, and horrid aspersions which had
“ been cast upon him) but he wished, that, instead
“ of a mere general complaint, to which his Majesty
“ could make no return but of Compassion, they
“ could have digested, and offered to him any such

“ desires, by consenting to which, he might convey,
“ at least in some degree, comfort and life to that
“ gasping Kingdom; preserve his distressed, and
“ loyal Subjects of the same from inevitably perish-
“ ing, and the true Protestant Religion from being
“ scorned, and trampled on, by those merciless
“ Rebels. And, if the Petitioners could yet think
“ of any Such, and propose them to his Majesty, he
“ assured them, that by his readiness to consent, and
“ his thanks to them for the proposal, he would
“ make it appear to them, that their most pressing,
“ Personal Sufferings, could not make Them more
“ desirous of relief, than His care of the true Reli-
“ gion, and of his faithful Subjects, and of his Duty,
“ which obliged him, to his power, to protect both,
“ rendered Him desirous to afford it to them.

The King being fully informed now, as well by this Committee, as from his Ministers of State in that Kingdom, of the growing power of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and of the weak Resistance his good Subjects were like to make, whose only hopes depended upon those Succours which they presumed the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither, without the least addition of strength, or probable assurance that any would be sent after him; his Majesty considered likewise, that, besides the damp this naked arrival of the Lord-Lieutenant There must cast upon the minds of all, it would make likewise a great alteration in the conduct of Affairs there. For upon His landing, the Commission to the Earl of *Ormond*, of Lieutenant-General of the Army, would be determined; and

B O O K
VI.

there had those jealousies, and disrespectts, passed between the Earl of *Leicester* and Him, that the Earl of *Ormond* was resolved, no more to continue that Command, but immediately to transport himself out of that Kingdom; by which the King should lose the service of a Person much the most powerful, most able, and most popular within that Kingdom; and who had, with wonderful Courage and Conduct, and almost miraculous success, hitherto restrained the rage and fury of the Rebels, and indeed a Man so accomplished, that he had either No Enemies, or Such who were ashamed to profess they were so.

Upon these considerations, the King thought fit, for some time, till he might farther weigh the whole business, to suspend the Earl of *Leicester's* Journey: and therefore sent to him to *Chester* (where he had lain, in some indisposition of health, above a fortnight; and the Ships being not yet come for his Transportation) "to attend his Majesty at *Oxford*;" which he did shortly after *Christmas*, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of *Ormond* (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "to carry on the War" as he had done; and, during the absence of the "Lord-Lieutenant, to dispose of all Places, and "Offices in the Army which became void." His Majesty likewise at this time made an alteration in the Civil Power; for whereas Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlacy*, had continued Lords Justices from, and before the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King finding that Sir *William Parsons* (who was a Man of long experience in that Kingdom, and confessed abilities, but always of suspected reputation) did him

all imaginable differvice, and combined with the Parliament in *England*, removed him from that Trust; and, in his room, deputed Sir *Harry Tichborne*, a Man of so excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the Other, and knew This would never be brought to serve Their turn, they could not fasten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

Another circumstance must not be forgotten. After the War broke out in *England*, the Parliament had sent over two of their Members of the Commons (Mr. *Raynolds*, and Mr. *Goodwyn*) as a Committee into *Ireland*, to reside at *Dublin*, and had given directions to the Lords Justices, “that they should have “leave to be present at their consultations;” which they had; and were no other than Spies upon those, who should presume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the sense of the Houses. When the King made that alteration in the Government, he likewise took notice, that strangers were admitted to be present at their debates, which had never been before practised; and therefore required them, “that “it might be so no more.” Hereupon, the Committee, who had carried themselves very insolently, and seditiously there, and with notable contempt of the King, and His Authority, were, by the Lords Justices, and Council, inhibited from being present at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the Kingdom, and returned to *London*; the Parliament unreasonably accusing the King of a new breach of Privilege, for this disrespect to their Members. This was the State of *Ireland*, the War being that Spring

B O O K prosperously carried on by the Marquis of *Ormond*,
VI. and the Earl of *Leicester* still staying at *Oxford* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant. And so We will return to *Oxford*, and *London*.

Many days being past since the return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford*, with the King's Answer to their Propositions, and no Reply being made by the Houses, or indeed any solemn Debate entered thereupon (for his Majesty had every day Information of what passed among them, even in their most secret Councils) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorously intended for the War, than had been before, in sending out strong Parties to infest the King's Quarters (for besides the incursions, and progress of Sir *William Waller*, which are before remembered, Mr. *Hambden* had made some Attempts upon the *Brill*, a Garrison of the King's upon the Edge of *Buckinghamshire*, but without effect, and with some considerable loss) in Levying great Numbers of Men, for the recruiting the Earl of *Essex*'s Army; and designing new extraordinary ways for the raising of Money and associating several Counties of the Kingdom, towards the raising new Armies: the King, as well to have the conveniency of sending to *London* (of which Journies he made good use) as to quicken, and necessitate them to some reply, sent another Message to them, putting them in mind of "the Proposition he had made for a Cessation, of Arms," and desired, "if they approved of a Cessation, that the day upon which they thought fit it should begin, and such particulars, limits, and condi-

The King
 puts the two
 Houses in
 mind of his
 Proposition for
 a Cessation of
 Arms.

“ tions of it, as were necessary to be understood,
“ and agreed on, before the Cessation itself could
“ actually begin, might be proposed by Them.”
Since, his Majesty said, “ he supposed, by the pre-
“ sent great preparations of several Forces to march
“ several ways, that till all that should be agreed upon,
“ They did not conceive Themselves obliged to an
“ actual Cessation; so neither, till Then, did his
“ Majesty conceive Himself obliged to it; however,
“ he wished it might be clearly understood between
“ them, that no such imputations as had been for-
“ merly, might be laid upon Him, upon occasion
“ of any thing that might intervene.

This Message put a necessity upon them, of entering again upon the Argument, and gave them who desired Peace and Accommodation, an opportunity to press for the Debate, which had been craftily laid aside for the despatch of other matters; that Party, which was most deeply engaged in the War, and resolved to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping those things from being Debated, in which they found Their sense would not prevail. And at this time, the Number of those in both Houses, who really desired the same Peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) superior to the other. For, besides that many Persons, who from the beginning had always dissented from them, for their ease and conveniency had stayed among them, very many were convinced in their understandings, that they had been misled; and discerned, in what a bottomless Gulph of misery the Kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate Composure were

B O O K not made; and some of those who had been as fierce
VI. as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the Fire, either out of Conscience that they had done amiss, or fear that the King would prevail by Power, or Anger that they found other Men valued above them; in their present Distraction, or their natural Inconstancy even in ill, were most solicitous for a Treaty. So that within few days after the receipt of this Message, both Houses agreed, "that

Both Houses agree there should be a Treaty; and they send for a safe conduct.

"there should be a Treaty, in which so much of
 "the King's Propositions as concerned the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Proposition of
 "both Houses for the disbanding the Armies, should
 "be first treated on, and concluded, before the
 "proceeding to treat upon any of the other Propositions; and that the Treaty should begin the fourth
 "of *March*, or sooner if it might be; and that,
 "from the beginning, the time should not exceed
 "twenty days."

The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.

The Persons they made choice of to Treat, were the Earl *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, for whose Safe-Conduct they despatched a Messenger to his Majesty; this resolution being taken but the last day of *February*. As soon as the request was presented, the King returned a Safe-Conduct for the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the four Commoners, but refused to admit the Lord *Say* to his presence, upon the same exception he had formerly refused Sir *John Evelyn* at *Colebrook*; his Lordship being Personally excepted from Pardon by a former Proclamation; but signified, "that if they
 "would

“ would employ any other Person not within the
“ same Rule, he should as freely come as if he were
“ in the Safe-Conduct.”

Whether the Lord *Say* was nominated by those who believed they should be able, upon the refusal of Him (which they could not but foresee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty; or whether they believed, they had so far prevailed by underhand Negotiations at *Oxford*, that he should be admitted, and that he would have been able to persuade the King to yield to what they proposed, or at least to have engaged the King to those who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not So insisted on at *Westminster* as to break the Treaty, so many were of opinion at *Oxford*, that the King should have admitted him. They said, “ he was a
“ wise Man, and could not but know, that it would
“ not be possible for him to make any impression
“ upon his Majesty’s Judgment in the Propositions
“ in Debate; and therefore, that he would never
“ have suffered himself to be designed to that Ne-
“ gotiation (which, without doubt, by his Interest
“ in both Houses he might have prevented) if he
“ did not purpose to do some signal service to his
“ Majesty.” And indeed many believed, “ that if
“ he had come, and found the King’s goodness in-
“ clined to pardon, and trust him, that he would
“ have done the best he could, to redeem his for-
“ mer breaches.” Others were of opinion, “ that
“ he was so far from being inclined to serve the
“ King, or advance the Treaty, that they would
“ have sent him as a Spy, lest others should;” and

B O O K these were the thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*.

VI. But the King, who knew the Lord *Say* as well as any of them, believed, that it was not in his Power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his Will; was resolved not to break his Rule, lest such a remission might give advantage against him in the future: and so sent the Answer above remembered. Together with this desire of a Safe-Conduct, they sent his Majesty word, “that they had likewise consented, that there should be a Cessation of Arms on either side, under the Restrictions, and Limitations, hereafter following.”

The two
Houses send
their Terms
for a Cessation.

1. “That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities, passing without such a Safe-Conduct as may Warrant their passage, may be stayed and seized on, as if no Cessation was agreed on.

2. “That all manner of Persons, passing without such a Safe-Conduct as is mentioned in the Article next going before, shall be apprehended, and detained, as if no such Cessation were agreed on at all.

3. “That his Majesty’s Forces in *Oxfordshire* should advance no nearer to *Windsor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Buckinghamshire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that, in *Berkshire*, the Forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other, than Now they are: And that the Parliament-Forces in *Oxfordshire* shall advance no nearer to *Oxford* than *Henly*, and those in *Buckinghamshire* no nearer to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: And that his Majesty’s Forces shall take no new

“ Quarters, above twelve miles from *Oxford*, any
“ way; and the Parliament-Forces shall take no
“ new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Windsor*,
“ any way.

4. “ That no Siege shall be begun, or continued
“ against *Glocester*; and that his Majesty's Forces,
“ now employed in the Siege, shall return to *Ciren-*
“ *cester* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as shall be
“ most for their convenience; and the Parliament-
“ Forces, which are in *Glocestershire*, shall remain
“ in the Cities of *Glocester*, *Bristol*, and the Castle,
“ and Town of *Berkely*, or retire nearer to *Windsor*,
“ as they shall see cause: And that those of *Wales*,
“ which are drawn to *Glocester*, shall return to their
“ Quarters where they were before they drew down
“ to *Glocestershire*.

5. “ That, in case it be pretended on either side,
“ that the Cessation is violated, no Act of Hostility
“ is immediately to follow, but first the party com-
“ plaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the
“ other side, and to allow three days, after notice,
“ for satisfaction; and in case satisfaction be not
“ given, or accepted, then five days notice to be
“ given, before Hostility begin, and the like to be
“ observed in the remoter Armies, by the Com-
“ manders in chief.

6. “ Lastly, that all other Forces, in the King-
“ dom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, not be-
“ fore mentioned, shall remain in the same Quarters,
“ and Places, as they are at the time of publishing
“ this Cessation, and under the same conditions as
“ are mentioned in the Articles before. And that

B O O K
VI.

“ this Cessation shall not extend, to restrain the setting forth, or employing of any Ships, for the Defence of his Majesty's Dominions.”

All which they desired “ his Majesty would be pleased to ratify, and confirm: and that this Cessation might begin upon the fourth of *March* next, or sooner if it might be; and continue until the five-and-twentieth of the same Month; and in the mean time to be published on either side; and that the Treaty might likewise commence upon the same day; and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

These Propositions were delivered to his Majesty on the first of *March*, which was almost a Month after the Cessation had been proposed by him (for His Propositions were made on the third of *February*) which administered cause of doubt, that the Overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible, that the Cessation could begin so soon as the fourth, by which time, though the King should consent to the terms proposed, upon sight, his Answer could very hardly be returned to them. But the Articles themselves were such as occasioned much debate, and difference of opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy-Council, and at a Council of War, made a Committee out of each, to consider the inconvenience, his consent to them might produce to His Party, if that Cessation, and Treaty, did not Produce a Peace; and the inequality in them, if the Overture passed from an equal Enemy according to the Rules of War. Some were of

opinion, “ that the Cessation should be consented
“ to by the King, upon the Articles proposed,
“ though they should be thought unequal, not only
“ because it would be an Act of great grace, and
“ compassion to the People, to give them some respite,
“ and taste of Peace, and the not consenting to it
“ (the reason not being so easy to be understood)
“ would be as impopular, and ungracious; but
“ that, they believed, it would at least cast the
“ People into such a slumber, that much of their
“ fury and madness would be abated; and that they
“ would not be easily induced to part with the ease
“ they felt, and would look upon That Party as
“ an Enemy, that robbed them of it; that it would
“ give an opportunity of charitable Intercourse, and
“ revive that freedom of Conversation, which, of
“ itself, upon so great advantage of reason, as they
“ believed the King’s cause gave, would rectify the
“ understanding of many who were misled; but
“ especially, that it would not only hinder the recruit
“ of the Earl of *Essex*’s Army (for that no Man
“ would be so mad to declare themselves against the
“ King, when they saw a Cessation, in order to
“ restoring the King to his Rights (but would lessen
“ the Forces he had already; in that the Army
“ consisted most of Men engaged by the Pay, not
“ Affection to the Cause; who upon such a remission
“ of duty as would necessarily attend a Cessation,
“ would abandon a Party, which they foresaw,
“ upon a Peace, must be condemned, though it
“ might be secure: And whereas all Overtures of
“ a Treaty hitherto had advanced their Levies upon

B O O K

VI.

“ pretence of being in a posture not to be contemned,
 “ they believed, a real Cessation would render those
 “ Levies impossible. ”

Others thought “ any Cessation disadvantageous
 “ enough to the King; and therefore, that the terms,
 “ upon which it was to be made, were to be pre-
 “ cisely looked to: that the Articles proposed would
 “ only produce a suspension of present acts of Hos-
 “ tility, and Blood, among the Soldiers; but not
 “ give the least taste of Peace, or admit the least
 “ benefit to the People, for that all Intercourse,
 “ and Conversation was inhibited, in so much as no
 “ Person of the King’s Party, though no Soldier,
 “ had liberty to visit his Wife, or Family, out of
 “ the King’s Quarters, during this Cessation; and
 “ the hindering Recruits could only prejudice the
 “ King, not at all the Earl of *Essex*, who had at
 “ present a greater Army than ever before; and
 “ the City of *London* was such a Magazine of Men,
 “ as could supply him upon very small warning.
 “ Besides, though the State of the King’s Army
 “ and Quarters, about *Oxford*, was such as might
 “ receive some advantage by a Cessation; yet, in
 “ the West, it was hoped his Affairs were in the
 “ bud; and the Earl of *New-Castle* was so much
 “ Master in the North, that if a Peace ensued not
 “ (which Wise Men did not believe was seriously
 “ intended on the Parliament’s part, by reason the
 “ Propositions to be Treated on, were so unreason-
 “ able, and impossible to be consented to) such a
 “ Cessation would hinder the motion and progress
 “ of the Earl’s good Fortune, and give time to the

“ Lord *Fairfax*, who was at present very low, to
 “ put himself into such a posture as might give new
 “ trouble.” And it is certain the Northern Forces
 had then great dread of this Cessation.

B O O K
 VI.

To these Considerations was added another of greater moment, and which could be less answered by any access of benefit, and advantage on the King's Party. Hitherto the Parliament had raised their vast Sums of Money, for the support of their Army (which could only be supported by constant great Pay) and for the discharge of their other immense Expenses, incident to such a Rebellion, from the City of *London*, and principally from their Friends, not daring so rigidly to execute their Ordinances generally, but contented themselves with some severe judgments upon particular Men, whom they had branded with some extraordinary mark of Malignancy, out of *London*, save only that they gleaned among their own Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plundered by their Army, which brought no supply to their Common-Stock: And of what they imposed upon Cities, and Towns, wherein they had Garrisons (in which they had been likewise very tender) they had received very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax, and Imposition upon the People, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their Liberty, and their Property, with the jealousy whereof, they had blown them up to all those swellings, and seditious Humors against the King; and apprehending, that if they should attempt That, any encouragement of strength from any of the King's Armies,

B O O K would make the whole Kingdom rise against them.

VI.

The Houses
pass an Ordinance for a
weekly Assessment on
the whole
Kingdom.

But now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and framed even Articles for a Cessation; they passed an Ordinance for a Weekly Assessment throughout the Kingdom, towards the support of the War; by which, was imposed upon the City of *London* the Weekly Sum of ten thousand pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom no less than a Weekly Payment of thirty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one Million seven hundred forty-two thousand nine hundred thirty-six Pounds; a prodigious Sum for a People to bear, who, before this War, thought the payment of two Subsidies in a year, which, in the best times, never amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and never in our Age to above a hundred and fifty, an insupportable burden upon the Kingdom: Which indeed had scarce borne the same, under all the Kings that ever Reigned.

For the speedy and exact Collection whereof, they appointed, by the same Ordinance, Commissioners in each County, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in Their designs. To this they added other Ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the Kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in *London*; and, above all, for the sequestering, and seizing of the Estates of all who adhered to the King. “ Now if a Cessation were
“ consented to by the King, on the Articles pro-
“ posed, and thereby the King’s Forces locked up

“ within the several limits and narrow bounds, in
 “ which they were contained, these Ordinances
 “ might be executed throughout all their Quarters;
 “ and thereby vast Sums be raised. Their great Af-
 “ sociation of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, *Hun-*
 “ *tington*, *Bedford*, and *Essex* (in neither of which
 “ the King had any visible Party, or one fixed
 “ Quarter) upon which, the apprehension of the
 “ Earl of *New-Castle*’s advance upon them, kept
 “ them from notable pressures, would by this means
 “ yield them a great supply of Men, and Money.
 “ In *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*, whilst Sir *Ralph*
 “ *Hopton* might hereby be kept from advancing,
 “ They might raise what they would, and might
 “ dispose of the Stocks, and personal Estates of those,
 “ whom they had, and would declare to be Malig-
 “ nant; and so this Cessation, besides the damage,
 “ and prejudice to the Loyal Party, would probably
 “ fill the Rebels Coffers, the emptiness whereof was
 “ the most, if not only, probable way and means,
 “ to determine the War. ”

These considerations made a deep impression upon
 those, who believed the Treaty was not like to pro-
 duce a Peace; the Number of which was increased
 by a new Resolution, at this time entered upon,
 and vigorously prosecuted, “ to fortify the City of
 “ *London*, and to draw a line about it; which was
 “ executed with marvellous expedition;” which,
 many believed, would not have been then done,
 both for the charge and jealousy of it, if it had not
 been resolved it should not Yet return to the King’s
 Obedience. And many Persons of Honor, and Qua-

The City of
 London for-
 tified.

B O O K
VI.

The King's
proposals of
Alterations
in the two
Houses Ar-
ticles of Ces-
sation.

lity, about the King, who had given great life to his Affairs, were so startled with the sense of it, that they addressed themselves together to his Majesty, and besought, him, "that they might not lose That
" now, by an unequal Cessation, which had been
" preserved for them, during the Licence of Hos-
" tility; and that His, and Their Enemies, might
" not be That way enabled to destroy them, which
" Yet they durst not attempt to do by any Other."

The King hereupon, after solemn Debates in Council, the chief Officers of his Army being present, resolved to make such Alterations in the Articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at least prevent so intolerable disadvantages.

1. "To the first Article as it was proposed by
" them, his Majesty fully, and absolutely consented."
2. "To the second likewise fully, as far as it con-
" cerned all Officers and Soldiers of the Army; but
" He proposed, that all other his Subjects, of what
" Quality, or Condition soever, might, during the
" Cessation, pass to and from the Cities of *Oxford*,
" or *London*, or any other parts of his Majesty's
" Dominions, without any search, stay, or impri-
" sonment of their Persons, or seizure, and deten-
" tion of their Goods or Estates: And that all
" manner of Trade, and Commerce, might be open
" and free between all his Subjects, except between
" the Officers, and Soldiers of either Army, or for
" Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion, or Vic-
" tuals for the use of either Army, without a Pass,
" or Safe-Conduct;" which, his Majesty told them,
" would be a good beginning to renew the Trade,

“ and Correspondence of the Kingdom, and where-
“ by his Subjects might be restored to that Liberty
“ and Freedom they were born to, and had so hap-
“ pily enjoyed till these miserable distractions; and
“ which, even during this War, his Majesty had,
“ to his utmost, labored to preserve, opening the
“ way, by most strict Proclamations, to the passage
“ of all Commodities, even to the City of *London*
“ itself.”

3, 4, 5, 6. To these the King likewise consented, with two provisions: First, “ that such Ships as
“ were necessary to be set forth, should be Com-
“ manded by such Persons as his Majesty should
“ approve of. Secondly, that during the Cessation,
“ none of his Subjects should be imprisoned other-
“ wise than according to the known Laws of the
“ Land, and that there should be no plundering,
“ or violence offered to any of his Subjects. The
“ first of these was inserted (without purpose of
“ insisting on it) lest by the King’s consent to the
“ Article, in the Terms it was proposed, he might
“ be thought to consent in any degree to their usur-
“ pation of the Naval Authority. And the second
“ was, to prevent the execution of the Ordinances
“ before mentioned.”

And his Majesty told them, “ he hoped, these
“ small Alterations would sufficiently manifest, how
“ solicitous he was for the good of his People, for
“ whose Liberties he should insist, when in matters
“ merely concerning Himself, he might descend to
“ easier Conditions; and how desirous he was, that,
“ in this unnatural Contention, no more blood of

B O O K
VI.

“ his Subjects might be spilt, upon which he looked
“ with much Grief, Compassion, and Tenderneſs
“ of Heart, even on the blood of thoſe, who had
“ liſted up their hands againſt him. And therefore
“ he doubted not, but both Houſes would conſent
“ to them. However, if any ſcruples ſhould be made,
“ he was willing that the Commiſſioners for the
“ Treaty might nevertheleſs immediately come to
“ him, and ſo all matters concerning the Ceſſation
“ might be there ſettled between them.”

After this Answer returned by the King, many days paſſed without any return to Him; and in the mean time another Addreſs was made to his Maſteſty, upon which the great Managers at *London* had ſet their hearts, more than upon the Treaty; and for which indeed they deferred their Treaty. They had ſtill a great dependance and confidence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, and yet that People moved very ſlowly; and, ſince the Earl of *Effex* had been ſettled in his Winter-Quarters, there had been high Quarrels between the *Engliſh*, and *Scotch* Officers, inſomuch as, upon ſome reproachful words which had been caſt out, many Swords were one day drawn in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, when the Houſes were ſitting, between them; and ſome blood drawn, which (though the Houſes induſtriouſly labored to compoſe it with Declarations “ of their joint value and
“ reſpect of that Nation with their own, and that
“ their deſerts could only diſtinguiſh them”) gave ſo great umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, ſome of eminent Command, quitted the Service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther National Combination in Miſchief.

But the general inclination to Rebellion mastered those particular considerations, and disobligations; and, about the end of *February*, to facilitate the King's consent to the Grand Proposition for the extirpation of Episcopacy (which the two Houses had been, by the Arts before mentioned, wrought to make; when in truth, there were very few of themselves desired it; as, when it passed the House of Peers, there were but five Lords present) there arrived at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, a Man of equal Fame in the distractions that arose in that Kingdom: the former came as a Commissioner from the Lords of the Secret-Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themselves, "the Conservators of the Peace between the two Kingdoms;" and desired to pass as a Mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houses, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr. *Henderson*, had a special employment from the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to present a Petition from that Body to the King; the which, because it was then thought of a very strange nature, and dialect, and because I shall always report the Acts of that Nation (as far as I am obliged to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to insert in this place.

But it will be first necessary, for the better understanding one angry clause in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of *New-Castle* marched into *Yorkshire*, upon occasion of some Aspersions published against

B O O K
VI.

him by the Lord *Fairfax*, “that his Army consisted
“only of Papists, and that his design was to extir-
“pate the Protestant Religion,” the Earl set forth a
Declaration of the reasons of his marching into that
County, which was, “upon the desire of the prin-
“cipal Gentlemen, to rescue, and protect them
“from the Tyranny of the Parliament;” and then,
taking notice of “the scandalous imputations upon
“him in point of Religion,” after he had vindicated
himself from the least suspicion of Inclination to
Popery, he confessed “he had granted Commissions
“to many Papists, which, as He knew, was, in this
“case, agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom, so
“he believed it very agreeable to the present Policy;
“and that, the quarrel between the King and the
“two Houses, being not grounded upon any matter
“of Religion, the Rebels professing themselves to
“be of the same of which his Majesty was clearly
“known to be, and the Papists generally at this
“time appearing very Loyal to him, which too
“many Protestants were not, he thought Their As-
“sistance might very fitly be made use of, to suppress
“the Rebellion of the other.” And from thence
these Zealous *Scots* concluded, that he preferred the
Papists, in point of Loyalty, before the Protestants;
which was a calumny of so public a concernment,
that they could not be silent in. Their Petition follows
in these words.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;
*The humble Petition of the Commissioners of the Ge-
neral Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland met at Edin-
borough Jan. 4. 1643.*

The Petition

“Our Silence, and ceasing to present before your

B O O K
VI.of the General
Assembly of
the Kirk of
Scotland
presented to
the King by
Mr. Hender-
son, signed
Jan. 4.
1643.

“ Majesty our humble thoughts and desires, at this
 “ time of Common danger to Religion, to your Ma-
 “ jesty’s sacred Person, your Crown, and Posterity,
 “ and to all your Majesty’s Dominions, were im-
 “ piety against God, unthankfulness, and disloyalty
 “ against your Majesty, and indirect approbation,
 “ and hardening of the adversaries of Truth
 “ and Peace in their wicked ways, and cruelty
 “ against Our Brethren, lying in such depths of
 “ Affliction, and Anguish of Spirit; any one of
 “ which crimes were, in Us above all others, unex-
 “ cusable, and would prove Us most unworthy of
 “ the trust committed unto Us. The flame of this
 “ Common Combustion hath almost devoured *Ire-*
 “ *land*, is now wasting the Kingdom of *England*,
 “ and We cannot tell how soon it shall enter upon
 “ Ourselves, and set this your Majesty’s most An-
 “ cient, and Native Kingdom on fire. If in this woful
 “ case, and lamentable condition of your Majesty’s
 “ Dominions, all others should be silent, it behoveth
 “ Us to speak; and if Our Tongues and Pens should
 “ cease, our Consciences within us would cry out,
 “ and the stones in the Streets would Answer Us.

“ Our great grief, and apprehension of danger, is
 “ not a little increased, partly by the insolence, and
 “ presumption of Papists, and others disaffected to
 “ the Reformation of Religion, who, although for
 “ their Number, and Power, they be not consider-
 “ able among Us, yet, through the success of the
 “ Popish Party in *Ireland*, and the hopes they con-
 “ ceive of the prevailing power of the Popish Armies,
 “ and the Prelatical faction in *England*, they have of

BOOK
VI.

late taken spirit, and begun to speak big words
against the Reformation of Religion, and the work
of God in this Land; and partly, and more principally,
that a chief praise of the Protestant Religion (and thereby our not vain, but just gloriation)
is, by the public Declaration of the Earl of *New-
Castle*, General of your Majesty's Forces for the
Northern parts, and nearest unto us, transferred
unto Papists; who, although they be sworn Enemies
unto Kings, and be as infamous for their
Treasons, and Conspiracies against Princes and
Rulers, as for their known Idolatry, and spiritual
Tyranny, yet are they openly declared to be not
only good Subjects, or better Subjects, but Far
better Subjects than Protestants: which is a new,
and foul disparagement of the Reformed Religion,
a notable Injury to your Majesty in your Honor,
a sensible Reflection upon the whole Body of this
Kingdom, which is impatient, that any Subjects
should be more Loyal than They; but abhorreth,
and extremely disdaineth, that Papists, who refuse
to take the Oath of Allegiance, should be compared
with them in Allegiance, and Fidelity; and which
(being a strange Doctrine from the Mouth, or Pen
of professed Protestants) will suffer a hard construction
from all the Reformed Kirks.

We therefore, your Majesty's most humble and
loving Subjects, upon these and the like considerations,
do humbly entreat, that your Majesty
may be pleased in your princely Wisdom, first to
consider, that the Intentions of Papists, directed
by the Principles of their profession, are no other
than

“ than they have been from the beginning, even to
 “ build their Babel, and to set up their execrable
 “ Idolatry, and Anti Christian Tyranny, in all your
 “ Majesty’s Dominions; to change the face of your
 “ two Kingdoms of *Scotland*, and *England*, into the
 “ similitude of miserable *Ireland*; which is more
 “ bitter to the People of God, your Majesty’s good
 “ Subjects, to think upon, than death; and what-
 “ soever their present pretences be, for the Defence
 “ of your Majesty’s Person and Authority, yet, in
 “ the end, by their Arms, and Power, with a dis-
 “ played Banner, to bring That to pass against your
 “ Royal Person, and Posterity, which the fifth of
 “ *November*, never to be forgotten, was not able
 “ by their subtile and undermining Treason to pro-
 “ duce; or, which will be their greatest Mercy, to
 “ reduce your Majesty, and your Kingdoms, to the
 “ base and unnatural Slavery of their Monarch, the
 “ Pope: And next, that your Majesty, upon this
 “ undeniable evidence, may timously and speedily
 “ apply your Royal Authority, for disbanding their
 “ Forces, suppressing their Power, and disappoint-
 “ ing their bloody and merciless Projects.

“ And for this end, We are, with greater Ear-
 “ nestness than before, constrained to fall down
 “ again before your Majesty, and, in all humility,
 “ to renew the supplication of the late general As-
 “ sembly, and Our own former Petition in Their
 “ name, for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of
 “ Church Government in all your Majesty’s King-
 “ doms, and, to this effect, for a meeting of some
 “ Divines to be holden in *England*, unto which,

BOOK
VI.

“ according to the desire of your Majesty’s Parlia-
“ ment, some Commissioners may be sent from this
“ Kirk; that, in all points to be proposed, and de-
“ bated, there may be the greater Consent, and
“ Harmony. We take the boldness to be the more
“ instant in this our humble desire, because it con-
“ cerneth the Lord Jesus Christ so much in His Glory,
“ your Majesty in your Honor, the Kirk of *England*
“ (which We ought to tender as our own Bowels,
“ and whose Reformation is more dear unto Us than
“ Our lives) in Her happiness, and the Kirk of *Scot-*
“ *land* in her purity, and peace; former experience,
“ and daily sense teaching Us, that, without the
“ Reformation of the Kirk of *England*, there is no
“ hope or possibility of the continuance of Reforma-
“ tion Here.

“ The Lord of Heaven and Earth, whose Vice-
“ Gerent your Majesty is, calleth for this great work
“ of Reformation at your hand; and the present
“ Commotions, and Troubles of your Majesty’s
“ Dominions, are either a preparation, in the mercy
“ of God, for this blessed Reformation and Unity
“ of Religion (which is the desire, prayers, and ex-
“ pectation of all your Majesty’s good Subjects in
“ this Kingdom) or, which they tremble to think
“ upon, and earnestly deprecate, are (in the justice
“ of God, for the abuse of the Gospel, the tolerating
“ of Idolatry, and Superstition, against so clear a
“ light, and not acknowledging the day of Visita-
“ tion) the beginning of such a doleful desolation,
“ as no policy or power of Man shall be able to pre-
“ vent, and as shall make your Majesty’s Kingdoms,

“ within a short time , as miserable , as they may be
“ happy by a Reformation of Religion. God forbid
“ that , whilst the Houses of Parliament do profess
“ their desire of the Reformation of Religion in a
“ Peaceable , and Parliamentary way , and pass their
“ Bills for that end in the particulars ; that your
“ Majesty , the Nurse-Father of the Kirk of Christ ,
“ to whose care the custody and vindication of Re-
“ ligion doth principally belong , should , to the pro-
“ voking of the Anger of God , the stopping of the
“ influence of so many blessings from Heaven , and
“ the grieving of the hearts of all the Godly , frus-
“ trate our expectation , make our hopes ashamed ,
“ and hazard the loss of the hearts of all your good
“ Subjects ; which , next unto the truth , and unity
“ of Religion , and the safety of your Kingdoms ,
“ are willing to hazard their Lives , and spend their
“ Blood , for your Majesty’s Honor , and Happiness.
“ We are not ignorant , that the work is great , the
“ difficulties and impediments many ; and that there
“ be both Mountains , and Lions in the way ; the
“ strongest let , till it be taken out of the way , is the
“ Mountain of Prelacy : And no wonder , if your
“ Majesty consider , how many Papists , and Po-
“ pishly-affected , have , for a long time , found peace ,
“ and ease under the shadow thereof ; how many of
“ the Prelatical Faction have thereby their life and
“ being ; how many prophane , and worldly Men ,
“ do fear the Yoke of Christ , and are unwilling to
“ submit themselves to the obedience of the Gospel ;
“ how many there be , whose Eyes are dazzled with
“ the external Glory and Pomp of the Kirk ; whose

BOOK

VI.

“ minds are miscarried with a conceit of the Govern-
“ ing of the Kirk by the Rules of human Policy; and
“ whose hearts are affrighted with the apprehensions
“ of the dangerous consequences, which may ensue
“ upon alterations. But when your Majesty, in your
“ Princely and Religious Wisdom, shall remember,
“ from the Records of former times, how against
“ the Gates of Hell, the force and fraud of wicked
“ and worldly Men, and all panic fears of danger,
“ the Christian Religion was first planted; and the
“ Christian Kirk thereafter reformed: And from the
“ condition of the present times, how many, from
“ the experience of the Tyranny of the Prelates, are
“ afraid to discover themselves, lest They be re-
“ venged upon them hereafter (whereas Prelacy
“ being removed they would openly profess what
“ they are, and join with others in the way of Re-
“ formation) all obstacles, and difficulties shall be
“ but matter of the manifestation of the power of
“ God, the Principal worker; and means of the
“ greater Glory to your Majesty, the prime Instru-
“ ment.”

“ The Intermixture of the Government of Prelates
“ with the Civil State, mentioned in your Majesty’s
“ Answer to Our former Petition, being taken
“ away and the right Government by Assemblies,
“ which is to be seen in all the Reformed Kirks,
“ and wherein the Agreement will be easy, being
“ settled; the Kirk, and Religion, will be more
“ pure, and free from mixture, and the Civil Govern-
“ ment more sound and firm. That Government
“ of the Kirk must suit best with the Civil State,

“ and be most useful for Kings and Kingdoms,
“ which is best warranted by God, by whom Kings
“ do Reign, and Kingdoms are established. Nor
“ can a Reformation be expected in the common and
“ ordinary way, expressed also in your Majesty’s
“ Answer. The Wifest and most Religious Princes
“ have found it impossible, and implying a Repug-
“ nancy, since the Persons to be Reformed, and
“ Reformers, must be diverse; and the way of
“ Reformation must be different from the corrupt
“ way, by which defection of Workmen, and cor-
“ ruption in Doctrine, Worship, and Government,
“ have entered into the Kirk. Suffer Us therefore,
“ Dread Sovereign, to renew our Petitions for this
“ Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk-Gov-
“ ernment, and for a meeting of some Divines of
“ both Kingdoms, who may prepare matters for
“ your Majesty’s View, and for the Examination,
“ and Approbation of more full Assemblies. The
“ National Assembly of this Kirk, from which We
“ have Our Commission, did promise, in their thank-
“ giving for the many favors expressed in your
“ Majesty’s Letter, their best endeavour to keep
“ the People under their Charge in Unity, and Peace,
“ and in Loyalty, and Obedience to your Majesty,
“ and your Laws, which, We confess, is a duty
“ well befitting the Preachers of the Gospel.

“ But We cannot conceal how much both Pastors
“ and People are grieved, and disquieted with the
“ late reports of the success, boldness, and strength
“ of Popish Forces in *Ireland*, and *England*; and
“ how much danger, from the power of so malicious,

B O O K
VI.

“ and bloody Enemies , is apprehended to the Re-
 “ ligion , and Peace of this Kirk , and Kingdom ,
 “ conceived by them to be the spring , whence have
 “ issued all their Calamities , and Miseries. Which
 “ We humbly remonstrate to your Majesty as a ne-
 “ cessity requiring a General Assembly , and do
 “ earnestly supplicate for the Presence , and Assist-
 “ ance of your Majesty’s Commissioner , and the
 “ day to be appointed ; that , by universal consent
 “ of the whole Kirk , the best course may be taken
 “ for the preservation of Religion , and for the avert-
 “ ing of the great Wrath , which they conceive to
 “ be imminent to this Kingdom. If it shall please the
 “ Lord , in whose hand is the heart of the King , as
 “ the River of waters , so turn it whithersoever he
 “ will , to incline your Majesty’s heart to this
 “ thorough Reformation ; no more to tolerate the
 “ Mass , or any part of Romish Superstition , or
 “ Tyranny ; and to Command that all good means
 “ be used for the conversion of your Princely Con-
 “ sort , the Queen’s Majesty (which is also the
 “ humble desire of this whole Kirk and Kingdom)
 “ your joint Comforts shall be multiplied above the
 “ days of your Affliction , to your incredible joy ;
 “ your Glory shall shine in brightness , above all
 “ your Royal Progenitors , to the admiration of
 “ the world , and the terror of your Enemies : And
 “ your Kingdoms so far abound in righteousness ,
 “ peace , and prosperity , above all that have been
 “ in former Generations , that they shall say , *It is*
 “ *good for Us , that We have been afflicted.*”

This Petition was not stranger in itself , than in

the Circumstances that attended it ; for it was no sooner presented to the King (if not before) than it was sent to *London*, and Printed, and communicated with extraordinary industry to the People; that they might see, how far the *Scottish* Nation would be engaged for the destruction of the Church; and the Messenger who presented it, Mr. *Henderson*, confessed to his Majesty, that he had three or four Letters to the most active and seditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the same spirit in *Scotland*. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reasonably proceeded against Mr. *Henderson*, who was neither included in the Safe-Conduct (as the Lord *Lowden*, and the rest of the Commissioners were) nor had any Authority from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who were qualified with large powers) to countenance his Employment; being sent only from the Commissioners of the General Assembly (who were not authorized by their own constitutions, to make any such Declaration) and there being then no Assembly sitting; which itself, with all their new Privileges, could not, with any color of Reason, or Authority, have transacted such an Instrument. However the King, who well knew the Interest, and Influence the Clergy had upon the People of that Kingdom; and that, whilst they pretended to remove them from all secular Employment, they were the principal Instruments, and Engines, by which the whole Nation was wrought to Sedition; Resolved, not only to use the Person of Mr. *Henderson* very graciously, and to protect him from those Affronts, which he

B O O K
VI.

might naturally expect in a University (especially, He having used some grave and learned Doctors with great insolence, who went civilly to him to be informed, what Arguments had prevailed with him, to be so professed an Enemy to the Church of *England*, and to give him some information in the Argument; with whom he superciliously refused to hold any discourse) but to return an Answer with all possible Candor to the Petition itself; and so, before he entered upon the other Address, made by the Lord *Lowden*, and the rest, he returned (after very solemn Debates in Council, where the Earl of *Lanerick* the Secretary for *Scotland*, and other Lords of *Scotland*, who were of the Privy-Council, were present, and fully concurred, with many expressions of their detestation of the manners of their Countrymen, yet with assured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any Act of Hostility) to Mr. *Henderson*, and, with all expedition, by other hands into *Scotland*, this Answer; which likewise I think fit to insert in the very words, that Posterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any misunderstanding of Him, and his Actions with that People; and consequently any Commotions in that Kingdom; which was the only thing, he feared, might contribute to, and continue, the distractions in This.

His Majesty's Answer to the late Petition presented unto him by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. B O O K
VI.

“ We received lately a Petition from you, by
 “ the hands of Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, to the
 “ which We intended to have given an Answer,
 “ as soon as We had transacted the business with
 “ the other Commissioners, addressed to Us from
 “ the Conservators of the Treaty of that our King-
 “ dom. But finding the same to be published in
 “ Print, and to be dispersed throughout our King-
 “ dom, to the great danger of scandalizing of our
 “ wellaffected Subjects; who may interpret the bit-
 “ terness, and sharpness of some expressions, not
 “ to be so agreeable to that regard, and reverence,
 “ which is due to our Person, and the matter of
 “ the Petition itself to be reproachful to the Honor
 “ and Constitution of this Kingdom: We have been
 “ compelled, the more strictly to examine, as
 “ well the Authority of the Petitioners, as the
 “ matter of the Petition itself, and to publish our
 “ Opinion of both, that our Subjects of both King-
 “ doms may see how equally just, and sensible,
 “ We are of the Laws, and Honor of both our
 “ Kingdoms.

“ And first, upon perusal of the Petition, We
 “ required to see the Commission, by which the
 “ Messenger who brought the Petition, or the
 “ Persons who sent him, are Qualified to inter-
 “ meddle in Affairs so Foreign to their Jurisdiction,
 “ and of so great Concernment to this our Kingdom

B O O K
VI.

“ of *England*. Upon examination whereof, and in
“ defence of the Laws, and Government of this our
“ Kingdom. which We are trusted, and sworn to
“ defend, We must profess that the Petitioners, or
“ the General Assembly of Our Church of *Scotland*,
“ have not the least Authority, or Power to inter-
“ meddle, or interpose in the Affairs of this King-
“ dom, or Church; which are settled, and esta-
“ blished by the proper Laws of this Land, and,
“ till they be altered by the same competent Power,
“ cannot be inveighed against without a due sense
“ of Us, and This Nation; much less can they
“ present any Advice or Declaration to Our Houses
“ of Parliament against the same; or, to that pur-
“ pose, send any Letters, as they have now done
“ to any Ministers of Our Church Here; who, by
“ the Laws of this Land, cannot correspond against
“ the same.

“ Therefore, We do believe that the Petitioners,
“ when they shall consider how unwarranted it is
“ by the Laws of That Kingdom, and how con-
“ trary it is to the Laws of This, to the professions
“ they have made to each other, and how unbeco-
“ ming in itself, for Them to require, the ancient,
“ happy, and established Government of the Church
“ of *England* to be altered, and conformed to the
“ Laws, and Constitutions of another Church,
“ will find themselves misled by the information of
“ some Persons Here, who would willingly engage
“ the Petitioners to foment a difference, and divi-
“ sion between the two Kingdoms, which We have,
“ with so much Care and Industry, endeavoured

“ to prevent ; not having labored more to quench
“ the combustion in this Kingdom , than We have
“ to hinder the like from either devouring *Ireland* ,
“ or entering into *Scotland* ; which , if all others will
“ equally labor , will undoubtedly be avoided. But
“ We cannot so easily pass over the mention of
“ *Ireland* , being moved to it by the scandalous
“ Aspersions , that have been often cast upon Us ,
“ upon that Subject , and the use that hath been
“ made of the woful distractions of that Kingdom ,
“ as of a Seminary of fears , and jealousies , to beget
“ the like distractions in This ; which lest they may
“ have farther influence , We are the more willing
“ to make our Innocence appear in that particular.
“ When first that horrid Rebellion begun , We
“ were in Our Kingdom of *Scotland* ; and the sense
“ We had then of it , the expressions We made
“ concerning it , the Commissions , together with
“ some other Assistance , We sent immediately into
“ that Kingdom , and the instant recommendation
“ We made of it to both our Houses of Parliament in
“ *England* , are known to all Persons of Quality
“ there and then about Us. After Our return into
“ *England* , our ready concurring to all the desires
“ of both Houses , that might most speedily repress
“ that Rebellion , by passing the Bill of pressing ,
“ and in it a Clause , which quitted a Right chal-
“ lenged by all , and enjoyed by many of our Pre-
“ decessors , by parting with our Rights in the
“ Lands Escheated to Us by that Rebellion , for the
“ Encouragement of Adventurers ; by emptying
“ our Magazines of Arms and Ammunition for

B O O K

VI.

“ that Service (which We have since needed for
“ our necessary Defence , and Preservation) by
“ consenting to all Bills for the raising of Money
“ for the same , though containing unusual Clauses ,
“ which trusted both Houses without Us with the
“ manner of disposing it : Our often pressing both
“ Houses , not to neglect that Kingdom , by being
“ diverted by considerations , and disputes , less
“ concerning both Kingdoms : Our offer of raising
“ ten thousand Volunteers to be sent thither ; and
“ our several offers to engage our own Royal Person ,
“ in the suppression of that horrid Rebellion , are
“ no less known to all this Nation , than our perpetual earnestness , by our Foreign Ministers , to
“ keep all manner of supplies from being Transport-
“ ed for the relief of the Rebels , is known to several
“ Neighbouring Princes ; which if all good Sub-
“ jects will consider , and withal how many of the
“ Men , and how much of the Money raised for
“ that end , and how much time , care , and indus-
“ try , have been diverted from that employment ,
“ and employed in this unnatural War against Us
“ (the true cause of the present miseries , and want ,
“ which our *British* Armies there do now endure)
“ they will soon free Us from all those Imputations ,
“ so scandalously and groundlessly laid upon Us ;
“ and impute the continuance of the combustion of
“ that miserable Kingdom , the danger it may bring
“ upon our Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* , and
“ the beginning of this doleful Desolation , to those
“ who are truly guilty of it .

“ For Unity in Religion , which is desired , We

“ cannot but Answer, that We much apprehend,
“ lest the Papists may make some advantage of that
“ expreffion, by continuing that scandal with more
“ Authority, which they have ever heretofore used
“ to cast upon the Reformation, by interpreting
“ all the differences in Ceremony, Government, or
“ indifferent opinions between feveral Protestant
“ Churches, to be differences in Religion; and lest
“ our good Subjects of *England*, who have ever
“ esteemed themselves of the same Religion with you,
“ should suspect themselves to be esteemed by You
“ to be of a contrary; and that the Religion which
“ They, and their Ancestors have held, ever
“ since the blessed Reformation, and in, and for
“ which, they are resolved to die, is taxed, and
“ branded of falshood, or insufficiency, by such a
“ desire.

“ For Uniformity in Church-Government, We con-
“ ceived the Answer formerly given by Us (at *Bridge-*
“ *north*, 13th *October* 1642) to the former Petition
“ in this Argument, would have satisfied the Peti-
“ tioners; and is so full, that We can add little to
“ it; viz. That the Government Here established
“ by the Laws, hath so near a Relation, and in-
“ termixture with the Civil State (which may be
“ unknown to the Petitioners) that till a composed,
“ digested Form, be presented to Us, upon a free
“ Debate of both Houses in a Parliamentary way,
“ whereby the consent and approbation of this whole
“ Kingdom may be had, and We, and all our Sub-
“ jects may discern, what is to be left in, or brought
“ in, as well as what is to be taken away; We know

BOOK
VI.

“ not how to consent to any Alteration, otherwise
“ than to such an Act for the ease of Tender Con-
“ sciences in the matter of Ceremonies, as We have
“ often offered; and that This, and any thing else
“ that may concern the Peace of the Church, and
“ the advancement of God’s true Religion, may be
“ soberly discussed, and happily effected, We have
“ formerly offered, and are still willing, that Debates
“ of that nature may be entered into by a Synod of
“ Godly, and Learned Divines, to be regularly
“ chosen according to the Laws, and Customs of
“ this Kingdom: To which We shall be willing that
“ some Learned Divines of our Church of *Scotland*
“ may be likewise sent, to be present, and offer, and
“ debate their reasons. With this Answer the Peti-
“ tioners had great reason to acquiesce, without
“ enlarging the matter of their former Petition only
“ with bitter expressions against the established
“ Government, and Laws of their Neighbour Nation
“ (as if it were contrary to the word of God) with
“ whom they have so lately entered into a strict
“ Amity, and Friendship.

“ But We cannot enough wonder, that the Peti-
“ tioners should interpose themselves, not only as fit
“ Directors, and Judges, between Us, and our two
“ Houses of Parliament, in business so wholly
“ concerning the Peace, and Government of this
“ our Kingdom; and in a matter so absolutely in-
“ trusted to Us, as what new Laws to consent, or
“ Not to consent to; but should assume, and publish,
“ that the desire of Reformation in this Kingdom is
“ in a Peaceable, and Parliamentary way; when all

“ the world may know , that the proceedings Here
“ have been, and are, not only contrary to all the
“ Rules and Precedents of former Parliaments , but
“ destructive to the Freedom, Privilege, and Dignity
“ of Parliaments themselves: that We were first
“ driven by Tumults, for the safety of Our life, from
“ our Cities of *London*, and *Westminster*; and have
“ been since pursued, fought withal, and are now
“ kept from thence by an Army, raised and paid,
“ as is pretended, by the two Houses, which consist
“ not of the fourth part of the Number they ought to
“ do; the rest being either driven from thence by the
“ same violence, or expelled, or imprisoned, for
“ not consenting to the Treasons and unheard of In-
“ solences practised against Us. And if the Peti-
“ tioners could believe these proceedings to be in a
“ Peaceable, and Parliamentary way, they were
“ very unacquainted with the order, and constitu-
“ tion of this Kingdom, and not so fit Instruments
“ to promote the Reformation, and Peace, they
“ seem to desire.

“ We cannot believe the intermixture of the pre-
“ sent Ecclesiastical Government with the Civil
“ State, to be other than a very good reason; and
“ that the Government of the Church should be by
“ the Rules of human Policy, to be other than a
“ very good Rule, unless some other Government
“ were as well Proved, as Pretended, to be better
“ warranted by the word of God.

“ Of any Bills offered to Us for Reformation, We
“ shall not now speak, they being a part of those
“ Articles upon which We have offered, and expect

B O O K
VI.

“ to treat: But cannot but wonder, by what Autho-
 “ rity, you prejudge our Judgment herein, by
 “ denouncing God’s Anger upon Us, and our
 “ hazard of the loss of the hearts of all our good
 “ Subjects, if We consent not unto them. The in-
 “ fluence of so many blessings from Heaven, upon
 “ the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and our Father of
 “ blessed Memory, and acknowledgment of Them
 “ by all Protestant Churches, to have been careful
 “ Nurses of the Church of Christ, and to have ex-
 “ cellently discharged their duties, in the Custody,
 “ and Vindication of Religion; and the Affection
 “ of their Subjects to them, do sufficiently assure
 “ Us, that We should neither stop the influence
 “ of such blessings, nor grieve the hearts of all
 “ the Godly, nor hazard the loss of the hearts of
 “ our Good Subjects, although We still maintain,
 “ in this Kingdom, the same established Ecclesiastical
 “ Government which flourished in Their times, and
 “ under Their special Protection.

“ We doubt not, but our Subjects of *Scotland*
 “ will rest abundantly satisfied with such Alterations
 “ in their own Church, as We have assented unto;
 “ and not be persuaded by a mere Assertion, that
 “ there is no hope of continuance of what is There
 “ settled by Law, unless that be likewise altered
 “ which is settled Here. And our Subjects of *England*
 “ will never depart from their dutiful Affection to
 “ Us, for not consenting to new Laws, which, by
 “ the Law of the Land, they know We may as justly
 “ reject, if We approve not of them, as Either
 “ House hath power to prepare for, or Both, to
 propound

“ propound to Us. Nor are you a little mistaken, if
“ either you believe the generality of this Nation, to
“ desire a Change of Church Government, or that
“ most of those, who desire it, desire by it to intro-
“ duce that which You only esteem a Reformation;
“ but are as unwilling to submit to what You call the
“ Yoke of Christ, and obedience to the Gospel, as
“ those whom You call prophane, and wordly Men;
“ and so equally averse both to Episcopacy, and Pres-
“ bytery, that, if they should prevail in this parti-
“ cular, the abolition of the One, would be no
“ inlet to the Other; nor would your hearts be
“ less grieved, your expectations less frustrated
“ your hopes less ashamed, or your Reformation
“ more secured. And the Petitioners, upon
“ due considerations, will not find themselves less
“ mistaken in the Government of all the Reformed
“ Churches, which, they say, is by Assemblies, than
“ they are in the best way of Reformation; which
“ sure is best to be in a Common, and Ordinary way,
“ where the Passion, or Interest of particular Men
“ may not impose upon the public; but alteration be
“ then only made, when, upon calm debates, and
“ evident, and clear reason, and convenience, the
“ same shall be generally consented to for the Peace,
“ and Security of the People; and those, who are
“ trusted by the Law, with such debates, are not
“ divested of that trust, upon a General charge of
“ Corruptions, pretended to have entered by that
“ way; and of being the Persons to be Reformed,
“ and so unfit to be Reformers. And certainly, the
“ like Logic, with the like Charges, and Pretences

B O O K

VI.

“ might be used to make the Parliament itself an
“ incapable Judge of any Reformation, either in
“ Church, or State.

“ For the general expressions in the Petition against
“ Papists, in which the Petitioners may be understood
“ to charge us with Compliance and even Favor to
“ their opinions; We have taken all occasions to
“ publish to the world our practice and resolution
“ in the true Protestant Reformed Religion: and
“ We are verily persuaded, there is no One Subject,
“ in either of our Dominions, who at all knows us,
“ and hath observed our life, but is, in his Soul,
“ satisfied of our constant Zeal and unmoveable
“ Affection to that Religion, and of our true dislike
“ of, and hearty Opposition to Popery. And as We
“ willingly consented, at our being in *Scotland*, to
“ Acts proposed to Us, for the discountenancing,
“ and the reforming the Papists in that our Kingdom;
“ so, by our Proclamations for the putting of all
“ Laws severely in execution against Recusants; and
“ by not refusing any one Bill, presented to Us to
“ that purpose, in this Kingdom; and by our per-
“ petual and public professions of readiness, with
“ the advice of our two Houses of Parliament, pre-
“ pared for Us in a deliberate and orderly way, to
“ find some expedient to perfect so good a work;
“ We conceived, We had not left it possible, for
“ any Man to believe Us guilty of tolerating any
“ part of the Romish Tyranny or Superstition; or to
“ suspect, that the Conversion of our dearest Consort
“ was not so much our desire, that the Accession of
“ as many Crowns as God hath already bestowed on

“ Us, would not be more welcome to Us than that
“ day: A blessing, which it is our daily Prayer to
“ the Almighty be bestow upon Us.

“ But We might well have expected from the Pe-
“ titioners, who have in their Solemn, National
“ Covenant, literally sworn so much care of the
“ safety of our Person, and cannot but know in how
“ much danger That hath been, and still is, by the
“ power and threats of Rebellious Armies, that they
“ would as well have remembered the 23^d of *October*,
“ as the 5th of *November*; and as well have taken
“ notice of the Army raised, and led against us by
“ the Earl of *Essex*, which hath actually assaulted,
“ and endeavoured to murder Us; which We know
“ to abound in *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other
“ Sectaries; and in which We have reason (by Pri-
“ soners We have taken, and the evidence they
“ have given) to believe there are many more Papists
“ (and many of those Foreigners) than in all our
“ Army; as have advised Us, to disband out of the
“ Army of the Earl of *New-Castle*, which is raised
“ for our defence, the Papists in that Army; who
“ are known to be no such Number, as to endanger
“ their obtaining any power of building Their Ba-
“ bel, and setting up Their Idolatry; and whose
“ Loyalty he hath reason to commend (though he
“ was never suspected for favoring their Religion)
“ not before that of Protestants, but of such as Rebel
“ under that Title; and whose Assistance is as due
“ to Us, by the Law of God and Man, to rescue
“ Us from Domestic Rebellion, as to defend Us
“ from Foreign Invasion; which We think no Man

B O O K
VI.

“ denies to be lawful for them to do. But We do
“ solemnly declare, and protest, that God shall no
“ sooner free Us from the desperate, and Rebellious
“ Arms taken up against Us but We shall endea-
“ vour to free Ourselves and Kingdom from any fear
“ of danger from the other by disarming them,
“ according to the Laws of this Land; as We shall
“ not fail to send Our Commissioner to the Assem-
“ bly, at the time appointed for it by the Laws of
“ *Scotland*.

“ To conclude, We desire, and require the Pe-
“ titioners (as becomes good, and pious Preachers
“ of the Gospel) to use their utmost endeavours, to
“ compose any distraction in opinions, or misunder-
“ standings, which may, by the Faction of some
“ turbulent Persons, be raised in the minds of our
“ good Subjects of that our Kingdom; and to infuse
“ into them a true sense of Charity, Obedience, and
“ Humility, the great principles of the Christian
“ Religion; that they may not suffer themselves to
“ be transported with things that they do not un-
“ derstand, or think themselves concerned in the
“ Government of another Kingdom, because it is
“ not according to the Customs of that in which
“ They live; but that they dispose themselves with
“ modesty, and devotion, to the service of Al-
“ mighty God; with Duty, and Affection, to the
“ obedience of Us, and our Laws (remembering
“ the singular grace, favor, and benignity, We
“ have always expressed to that our Native King-
“ dom) and with Brotherly, and Christian Charity
“ one towards another: And We doubt not but

“ God, in his mercy to Us and Them, will make
 “ us instruments of his Blessings upon each other,
 “ and Both of us, in a great measure, of happiness,
 “ and prosperity, to the whole Nation.”

B O O K
 VI.

The Lord *Lowden*, and the other lay-Commissioners, who were Persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality, gave the precedence to this Petition, which they called matter of Religion; and pressed not their own Commission, till the King had declared, and published his Answer to the other; and though they pretended not to have any Authority, to say any thing in that engagement of the Commissioners of the Assembly; yet the Lord *Lowden* used all importunity, and arguments, to persuade the King in private, to consent to the alteration of the Government of the Church; assuring him, “ that it would be a means, not only to hinder his
 “ Subjects of *Scotland* from adhering to the Parlia-
 “ ment; but that it would oblige them, to assist his
 “ Majesty to the utmost, in the vindication of all
 “ his Rights.” But he quickly found the King too strongly fixed to be swayed in a case of Conscience, by a consideration of Convenience; and his Lordship undertook to give no other Arguments.

The Trans-
 actions of the
 Earl of
 Lowden and
 other Scottish
 Commissioners
 at Oxford:
 that they
 might be Me-
 diators, and
 for a Parlia-
 ment in
 Scotland.

He betook himself then with his Companions, to their own proper, and avowed Errand; which consisted of two parts: The One, to offer “ the media-
 “ tion of the Conservators of the Peace of that
 “ Kingdom, for the compofure of the differences
 “ between the King and the two Houses;” the
 Other, “ to desire his Majesty, that he would send
 “ out his precepts to Summon a Parliament in Scot-

BOOK
VI.

land. These desires, and any Arguments to enforce them, they always delivered to the King himself in writing; declining any Address to his Ministers, or any debates with his Council, lest it might seem to lessen the Grandeur and Absoluteness of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But the King always brought those papers, which he received from them, to his Council; and received Their advice, what Answers to return. For the first, of Mediation, they pretended a Title, and obligation to it; by a Clause in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which Clause was: “ That
“ the Peace to be then established, might be invio-
“ lably observed, in all time to come, it was agreed,
“ that some should be appointed by his Majesty,
“ and the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, who,
“ in the interim betwixt the sitting of the Parlia-
“ ments, might be careful, that the Peace then
“ happily concluded might be continued; and who
“ should endeavour by all means to prevent all
“ troubles, and divisions; and if any debate and
“ difference should happen to arise, to the disturb-
“ ance of the Common-Peace, they should labor
“ to remove, or compose them, according to their
“ power; it being supposed, that for all their pro-
“ ceedings of this Kind, they should be answerable
“ to the King’s Majesty and the Parliament; and if
“ any thing should fall out that should be above
“ their power, and could not be remedied by them,
“ they should inform themselves in the particulars,
“ and represent the same to the King’s Majesty, and
“ the ensuing Parliament; that, by their Wisdoms

“ and Authority, all occasion and causes of troubles
 “ might be removed, and the Peace of the King-
 “ dom might be perpetual to all posterity. And
 “ it was declared, that the power of the Commis-
 “ sion should be restrained to the Articles of Peace
 “ in that Treaty.”

This Clause, and the whole Statute, being care-
 fully perused, and examined before his Majesty in
 his Council, the King returned an Answer to them
 in writing.

“ That He could not find any color, or pretence
 “ of Authority, to be granted by that Act of Par-
 “ liament, by which the Commissioners for *Scotland*
 “ could conceive themselves interested in a faculty
 “ of Mediation; that the Clause mentioned by them
 “ (besides that there was no such Commission grant-
 “ ed as was mentioned in that Clause, nor any
 “ Commissioners named for those purposes) related
 “ only to the differences that might grow between
 “ the two Nations; and only upon the Articles of
 “ that Treaty, which, his Majesty said, had been,
 “ and should be inviolably observed by Him. That
 “ the differences between his Majesty and his two
 “ Houses of Parliament, had not the least Relation
 “ to the Peace between the two Kingdoms, but to
 “ his unquestionable, and long enjoyed Rights,
 “ which, his Rebellious Subjects endeavoured, by
 “ Force, to wrest from him; and concerned the
 “ fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; which, as
 “ they could not be supposed to be known to the
 “ Conservators of the Peace of *Scotland*, so They
 “ could not have any possible Cognizance of them.

The King's
 Answer to
 them in both
 particulars.

B O O K

VI.

“ That it might give great Umbrage to his Subjects
 “ of *England*, if he should consent to what they
 “ now proposed; and, instead of confirming, and
 “ continuing the Peace, breed jealousies between
 “ the Nations; and therefore he could not admit of
 “ any such Mediation as They proposed; but that
 “ he hoped the Treaty, which he now expected,
 “ would beget so good an understanding between
 “ Him and his two Houses, that a Peace might
 “ ensue; towards which he would expect nothing
 “ from his Subjects of *Scotland*, but their Prayers.”

This gave them no satisfaction, but they insisted still on their right by that Clause; which, without any Reason or Argument to persuade others to be of their mind, they said, “ they conceived, laid that
 “ obligation upon them of interposition;” to which the King still gave the same Answer.

For their Other demand of a Parliament in *Scotland*, the case stood thus: The King, at his last being in *Scotland*, had, according to the Precedent he had made Here, granted an Act for Triennial Parliaments in that Kingdom; and, at the close of that present Parliament, had ratified another Act, by which, a certain day was appointed, for the Commencement of the next; which day was to be on the first *Tuesday* of *June*, in the year 1644, except the King should call one sooner; which he had power to do. So that the question was only, whether the calling a Parliament sooner in that Kingdom, was like to advance His service, and to contribute to the Peace of This? In the disquisition whereof, there needed no Arguments, that such a Convention

could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire Government of that People being in those Persons, who had contrived those dismal alterations. On the other hand, all Men thought it very happy for the King, that, without His consent, there could be no Parliament in *Scotland*, till June 1644; which was more than fourteen Months from this time: till when, how disinclined soever the whole Nation should be, there was as much Assurance, as could possibly be, from that People, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avowed supply from that Kingdom: It being the express words in the late Act of Pacification, “that the
“ Kingdom of *England* should not denounce, or make
“ War against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without
“ consent of the Parliament of *England*,” as on the other part, it was enacted, “that the Kingdom of
“ *Scotland* should not denounce, or make War
“ against the Kingdom of *England*, without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*. And in case
“ any of the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms
“ should arise in Arms, or make War against the
“ other Kingdom, or Subjects thereof, without
“ consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, where-
“ of they are Subjects, or upon which they do
“ depend, that they should be held, reputed, and
“ demanded, as Traytors to the Estates, whereof
“ they are Subjects. And, that both the Kingdoms,
“ in that case, should be bound to concur in the
“ repressing of those that should happen to arise in
“ Arms, or make War, without consent of their
“ own Parliament.”

B O O K

VI.

So that whoever believed, that those People could be constrained by any obligations, Divine, or Human, thought it impossible, by these clear Texts, that any Forces could be raised there to invade *England*, and disturb his Majesty, till *June* 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might so far prevail, that the spirit of the Rebellion might be broken, and Men return again to their Understanding, and Allegiance. Therefore to that demand the King returned Answer, “that against the time by
“ which they could legally demand a Parliament” (naming the day) “he would issue out his Writs, and
“ there being no emergent Cause to do it sooner, he
“ would forbear to put his Subjects there to that
“ trouble, which those meetings, how necessary
“ soever, would naturally carry with them.”

When they perceived that they should not receive satisfaction in either of their Proposals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was so wary in his Answers, and so clearly expressed the Reasons, and Justice of them, that they should have no Arguments to apply to the passion, or interest, of their Country-men; which they expected at least (For in that, in which he was most stedfastly resolved, the preservation of the Government of the Church, he expressed no more to them, than, “That being
“ a matter of so great importance, and having so near
“ Relation to the Civil Government, and Laws of
“ *England*, They could not be competent confi-
“ derers of it; but that He would do what should
“ be most safe, and necessary for the peace and wel-
“ fare of his Subjects, who were most concerned in

“ it)” At last rather cursorily, and as matter of Ceremony at parting, than of moment, they desired “ the King’s leave, and Pass to go to *London*, having,” as they said, “ some business there before their return “ into their own Country.”

This was, by many, thought a thing of so small moment, that the King should readily grant it; since it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were necessarily to return through the Enemies Quarters; and being once there, they might chuse whether they would go directly home, or visit *London*. And therefore that request was thought but an Instance of their modesty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their request. But the King looked upon it as no indifferent thing; and their asking a business that they needed not ask, was enough to demonstrate, that there was more in it than appeared. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to *London* with His Pass, and Licence, and without it, which they might easily do. They had now publicly declared their Errant, and claimed a Title, and Legal Capacity to undertake the business of Mediation; which would be so far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully received, and admitted to a power of Umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King should grant them His Pass, it would, by their Logic, more reasonably conclude his Assent, than many of those inferences which they drew from more distant Propositions; and having that ground once, his Majesty’s not consenting to what those grave

B O O K

VI.

Mediators would propose, and afterwards, as Arbitrators, award, should be quarrel sufficient for the whole Nation to Engage. And therefore the King expressly denied his Pass, and Safe-Conduct; and told them plainly the reason why he did so; and required them, “since he had denied to consent to that
 “ which could be the only ground of their going to
 “ *London*, that they should first return to those that
 “ sent them, before they attempted that Journey: if
 “ they did otherwise, they must run the hazard of
 “ Persons, whom his Majesty would not counte-
 “ nance with His Protection.” And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to *London*, they could not have returned thence to *Scotland* (except they would have submitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a Voyage by Sea) without so much danger from the King’s Quarters in the North (*York*, and *New-Castle* being at His devotion) that they could not reasonably promise themselves to escape.

The Parlia-
 ment’s Com-
 missioners to
 Treat came to
 Oxford.

Whilst this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, Sir *W. Armyn*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Witlock*, came to *Oxford*; who shortly took notice of the *Scottish* Commissioners desires, and also desired on Their behalf, “that they
 “ might have his Majesty’s leave to go to *London*,” but being quickly answered, “that That request
 “ would not fall within either of the Propositions
 “ agreed to be treated of,” they modestly gave over the Intercession: and in the end, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Country-men, returned directly to *Scotland*,

staying only so long in the Garrisons of the Enemy, through which they were reasonably to pass, as to receive such Animadversions, and to entertain such Communication, as they thought most necessary. B O O K VI.

As soon as the Committee arrived at *Oxford*, they were very graciously received by the King; his Majesty always giving them Audience in Council, and They withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilst their Proposals, which they still delivered in writing, were considered, and debated before the King. They declared, "that they were
 " first to Treat of the Cessation, and till that was
 " concluded, that they were not to enter upon any
 " of the other Propositions;" with which his Majesty was well pleased, presuming that they had brought, or had power to give, consent to the Articles proposed by him; which he rather believed, when they read the preamble to the Articles; in which it was declared, "that the Lords and Commons being still
 " carried on with a vehement desire of Peace, that
 " so the Kingdom might be freed from the desolation, and destruction, wherewith it was like to be
 " overwhelmed, had considered of the Articles of
 " Cessation with those alterations, and additions,
 " offered by his Majesty; unto which they were
 " ready to agree in such manner as was expressed in
 " the ensuing Articles." After which, were inserted the very Articles had been first sent to the King, without the least condescension to any one Alteration, or Addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede or consent to any Alteration, but only to publish it, if the King consented

The Treaty begins upon the Proposals of Cessation, but that takes no effect.

B O O K in Terms, and Then, and not till Then, to proceed
VI, to Treat upon the other Propositions.

This the King looked upon as an ill Omen; other Men as a plain Contempt, and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their sending their Committee, that they did desire a Treaty and a Cessation, yet, by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate Both, and to cast the Envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King sent a Message to them, which he published, to undeceive the People; farther pressing “the weight and consequence of his former ex-
“ ceptions, and alterations; and the inconvenience
“ that proceeded from not granting their Committee
“ power to alter so much as verbal Expressions: so
“ that, if the King should consent to the Articles,
“ as they were proposed, he should not only submit
“ to great disadvantages; but some such, as Them-
“ selves would not think reasonable to oblige him
“ to. As by that Article wherein they reserved a
“ power to send out a Fleet, or what Ships They
“ thought good, to Sea; they were not at all re-
“ strained, from sending what Land-Forces they
“ pleased, to any part of the Kingdom; so that,
“ when the Cessation ended, they might have new,
“ and greater Armies throughout the Kingdom, than
“ they had when it begun; which, he presumed,
“ they did not intend; being a thing so unequal, and
“ contrary to the Nature of a Cessation.

“ Then in the Articles they last sent, they stiled
“ their Forces, the Army raised by the Parliament,
“ the which if his Majesty should consent to, he
“ must acknowledge, either that He consented to

“ the raising that Army, or that He was no part of
“ the Parliament: neither of which, he conceived,
“ they would oblige him to do. And therefore, He
“ desired, that their Committee might have liberty
“ to Treat, Debate, and agree upon the Articles;
“ upon which They, and all the World should find,
“ that He was less solicitous for his own Dignity,
“ and Greatness, than for his Subjects Ease, and
“ Liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal, and just
“ desire of His, should not be yielded unto, but the
“ same Articles still, insisted upon, though his Ma-
“ jesty, next to Peace, desired a Cessation, yet, that
“ the not agreeing upon the One, might not destroy
“ the hopes of, nor so much as delay, the Other; He
“ was willing to Treat, even without a Cessation,
“ upon the Propositions themselves, in that order
“ that was agreed; and desired their Committee
“ might be enabled to that effect. In which Treaty
“ he would give,” He said, “ all his Subjects that
“ satisfaction, that if any security to enjoy all the
“ Rights, Privileges, and Liberties, due to them
“ by the Law, or that happiness in Church and State,
“ which the best times had seen, with such farther
“ Acts of Grace, as might agree with his Honor,
“ Justice, and Duty to his Crown, and which might
“ not render him less able to protect his Subjects,
“ according to his Oath, would satisfy them; his
“ Majesty was confident, in the Mercy of God, that
“ no more precious blood of this Nation would be
“ thus miserably spent.

This Message produced Liberty to the Committee to enter upon the Treaty itself, upon the Proposi-

B O O K
VI.

tions, though the Cessation should not be agreed to: and shortly after they sent reasons to the King, why they consented not to the Cessation in such manner, and with those limitations, as He had proposed.

1. They alledged, “ that, if they should grant such
“ a free Trade, as the King desired, to *Oxford*, and
“ other places, where his Forces lay, it would be
“ very difficult, if not impossible, to keep Arms,
“ Ammunition, Money, and Bullion, from passing
“ to his Army: However, it would be exceeding
“ advantageous to his Majesty, in supplying his
“ Army with many necessaries, and making their
“ Quarters a Staple for such Commodities, as might
“ be vented in the adjacent Counties; and so draw
“ Money thither; whereby the Inhabitants would
“ be better enabled by Loans, and Contributions,
“ to support his Army. As this advantage to Him
“ was very Demonstrable, so it was very Impro-
“ bable, that it would produce any supply to Them;
“ and, in a Treaty for Cessation, those Demands
“ could not be thought reasonable that were not
“ indifferent, that is, equally advantageous to both
“ Parties. 2. That to Demand the approving the
“ Commanders of the Ships, was, to desire to add
“ the strength of the one Party to the other, before
“ the differences were ended; against all Rules of
“ Treaty. And to make a Cessation at Sea, was to
“ leave the Kingdom naked to Foreign Forces, and
“ the Ports open for His supplies of Arms, and Am-
“ munition. But for conveying any Forces, by those
“ means, from one part to the other, they would
“ observe the Article, by which that was restrained.

3. For

“ 3. For the expression of the Army raised by the
 “ Parliament, they were contented it should be
 “ altered, and the name of the two Houses used.
 “ 4. For the Committing none, but according to the
 “ known Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordi-
 “ nary Process of Law, it would follow, that no
 “ Man must be committed by Them for supplying
 “ the King with Arms, Money, or Ammunition;
 “ for, by the Law of the Land, the Subject might
 “ carry such goods from *London* to *Oxford*: The Sol-
 “ diers must not be committed who do run from
 “ their Colors, and refuse any duty in the Army;
 “ no Man should be committed, for not submitting
 “ to necessary supplies of Money: so that if it should
 “ be yielded to, in his Majesty’s sense, they should
 “ be disabled to restrain supplies from their Enemies,
 “ and to govern, and maintain their own Soldiers;
 “ and so, under a disguise of a Cessation, should
 “ admit that which would necessarily produce the
 “ dissolving of their Army, and destruction of their
 “ Cause.” And, they said, “ it was not probable,
 “ that his Majesty would suffer the same inconve-
 “ niences by that Clause; for that they believed he
 “ would interpret, that what his General did by
 “ Virtue of his Commission, was and would be
 “ done according to the known Laws of the Land;
 “ whereas he had denied, that those known Laws
 “ gave any power to the two Houses of Parliament,
 “ to raise Armies; and so, consequently, their Ge-
 “ neral could not exercise any Martial Laws. So
 “ that under the specious show of Liberty, and
 “ Law, They should be altogether disabled to
 VOL. V. Z

B O O K
VI.

“ defend their Liberties and Laws; and his Majesty
“ would enjoy an absolute Victory, and Submission,
“ under pretence of a Cessation, and Treaty. They
“ said, being, by a necessity inevitable, enforced
“ to a Defensive War, and therein warranted both
“ by the Laws of God and Man, it must needs
“ follow, that, by the same Law, they were ena-
“ bled to raise means to support that War; and there-
“ fore they could not relinquish that power of laying
“ Taxes upon those who ought to join with them
“ in that Defence, and the necessary way of Levy-
“ ing those Taxes upon them, in case of refusal; for
“ otherwise their Army must needs be dissolved.

Though these Reasons were capable, in a sad, and composed Debate, of full Answers, and many things would naturally have flowed from them, to disprove the Practice and Assertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried such a kind of reason with them, as would prevail over the understandings of the People; and that the King, by not consenting to the Cessation, as it was proposed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected Any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his Affairs: and therefore his Majesty sent them, as soon as he had weighed this late Message, which he well discerned was not formed to satisfy Him, but to satisfy the People against Him, an Answer; in which he explained the ill consequence of many of their Assumptions, and enforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the People; however, he offered “ to admit the Cessa-
“ tion upon the matter of their own Articles; so that

“ he might not be understood to consent to any of
“ those unjust, and illegal powers, which they exer-
“ cised upon the Subjects.” But from henceforward,
the Houses declined any farther Argument, and
Debate concerning the Cessation; and directed their
Committee, “ to expedite the Treaty upon the Pro-
“ positions:” the Particulars whereof being transac-
ted in the beginning of the year 1643. I shall refer
the Narrative to the next Book; intending in This,
only to comprehend the Transactions to the end
of 1642.

I am persuaded if the King had, upon the receipt
of the Articles for the Cessation, when they were
first sent to him, frankly consented to it, it would
have proved very much to his advantage; and that
His Army would very much have increased by it,
and the Other been impaired; and that it would have
been very difficult for the Parliament to have dis-
solved it, if once begun, or to have determined
the Treaty. But besides the reasons before men-
tioned, the consideration of the Northern Forces,
and the restraining them within their old Quarters,
who seemed to be in a condition of marching even
to *London* itself, prevailed very far with the King;
or rather (which indeed was the main reason, and
rendered every other Suggestion of Weight) the
jealousy that they did not intend to consent to, or
admit any Peace, but such a one as his Majesty
might Not admit, made all the preliminary Debates
the more insisted on.

I cannot but insert one Particular, which may
hereafter be thought of some signification. It was

B O O K now the time of the year when, by the custom of
vi. the Kingdom, the King's Judges *Itinerant* used to go
 the Circuits throughout *England*, and *Wales*, to ad-
 minister Justice to the People; and to inquire into all
 Treasons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace, and other
 Misdemeanours; which were any where committed
 contrary to the known Laws, and they were sworn
 to judge according to those known Laws, the study
 and knowledge whereof was their Profession.

The advice
 and desires of
 the two Hou-
 ses concerning
 Goal-delivery.

The Lords and Commons now sent to the King
 a special Message, "to advise, and desire him, that,
 "in regard of the present distractions, which might
 "hinder both the Judges, and the People, from re-
 "solving to those places where such meetings might
 "be appointed, the Assizes and Goal-delivery
 "might not be holden; but that it might be deferred,
 "until it should please God to restore Peace unto
 "his People."

His Majesty's
 Answer.

The King returned them Answer; "that the pre-
 "sent bloody distractions of the Kingdom, which
 "he had used all possible means to prevent, and
 "would still to remove, did afflict his Majesty under
 "no consideration more, than of the great interrup-
 "tion, and stop it made in the Course and Proceed-
 "ings of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws;
 "whereby his good Subjects were robbed of the
 "Peace, and Security they were born to. And there-
 "fore, as much as in Him lay, he would advance
 "that only means of their happiness; at least, they
 "should see that their Sufferings that way, proceeded
 "not from his Majesty; and since they might now
 "expect, by the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of

“ the Kingdom, the Affizes and general Goal-delivery in every County, his Majesty thought not fit to Command the contrary; but would take severe, and precise order, that None of his Subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they repaired thither, by any of his Forces, which rule he should be glad to see observed by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the Laws, even those public Calamities might have some abatement, and the Kingdom recover its former Peace, and Prosperity.”

But this Answer was not more satisfactory than others they had usually received from Him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old, tried Weapon, and made an Ordinance, “ that all Judges, and Justices of Affize, and *Nisi prius*, and Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-delivery, should forbear to execute any of their said Commissions, or to hold or keep any Affizes, or Goal-delivery; at any time during that Lent-Vacation; as they would Answer the contempt, and neglect thereof, before the Lords and Commons in Parliament.”

The two Houses make an Ordinance to forbid the next Affizes, and Goal-delivery.

This was the first avowed Interruption, and Suspension of the public Justice, that happened, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the People occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence soever there was of Fundamental Laws) was not so warrantable by that Rule, since they labored so much to suppress that Inquisition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for besides that the example of Judge *Mallet*, who, the Circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the

B O O K
VI.

Bench by a Troop of Horse, as is before remembered, terrified all the Judges (and there were very few Counties in *England*, in which they could have been secure from the like Violence) the Records, upon which the Legal Proceedings were to be, were at *London*; and so the exercise of the Law ceased throughout the Kingdom, save only in some few Counties, whither the King sent some Judges of Assize, and into others, his Commission of Oyer and Terminer; by virtue whereof, the Earl of *Essex*, and many others, were as legally attainted of High-Treason, as the Wisdom of our Ancestors could direct.

An Account,
and Character
of the Privy-
Counsellors
then attending
the King, and
those who
stayed with the
two Houses

Mr. Hyde
made Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer.

The Treaty, as is said, being managed at the Council-Table, the Pride of the Parliament having refused to Treat with any but the King himself, and his Majesty resolving to transact all by the Advice and Opinion of his Privy-Council, it will be seasonable in this place to set down the Names of all those Privy-Counsellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the Commissioners to *London*, and their coming back to the Treaty, Sir *John Colepepper* being preferred to be Master of the Rolls, Mr. *Hyde* was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, till that time, though he was known to be trusted in matters of the greatest importance, was not under any Character in the Court: And when We have named those, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, We shall likewise name those, who, being under the same obligation, stayed and acted with the Parliament against him.

The Lord *Lyttleton* was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom so much hath been said before, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profession of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the business now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his Custody, and he would have been glad to have done any service; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn so great a disesteem upon him from most Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

B O O K
VI.
Of the Lord
Lyttleton.

The Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the noblest extraction, being nearest allied to the King's Person of any Man who was not descended from King *James*; so he was very worthy of all the grace and favor the King had showed him; who had taken great care of his Education, and sent him into *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and as soon as he returned, though he was scarce one-and-twenty years of Age, made him a Privy-Counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both Families, married him to the sole Daughter of his dead Favorite, the Duke of *Buckingham*; with whom he received twenty thousand pounds in Portion; and his Majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his Title, he was at great ease in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of him-

Of the Duke
of *Richmond*.

B O O K
VI.

self, that he was sometimes led by Men who judged much worse. He was of a great, and haughty Spirit, and so punctual in point of Honor, that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a Resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorred all Artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how Powerful soever, failed in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as One that would have no Quarter, upon so infamous Terms, as but looking on whilst his Master was ill used. As he had received great Bounties from the King, so he Sacrificed all he had to his Service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his Majesty, at one time, twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the War begun, engaged his three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen, in the Service; in which they all lost their Lives. Himself lived, with unspotted Fidelity, some years after the Murder of his Master, and was suffered to put him into his Grave; and Died, without the comfort of seeing the Resurrection of the Crown.

Of the Marquis
of Hertford.

The Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honor, and Fortune, and Interest in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard measure from the Court, where he long received no Countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a Man of very good parts, and conversant in Books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a Country-life,

where he lived in Splendor, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for Business: Besides his particular Friendship with the Earl of *Essex*, whose Sister he had Married, his greatest Acquaintance and Conversation had been with those who had the Reputation of being best affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and least in love with the humor of the Court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously, and furiously against the King. But as soon as he discerned their violent purposes against the Government established, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurred with them in any one Vote dishonorable to the King, or in the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, as is mentioned before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the Office of a Governor, he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left *York*, as is remembered, to form an Army for the King in the West, where his Interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther West to *Cornwal*; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an Army, with which they joined with him afterwards again; and himself returned to the King at *Oxford*, about the time when the Treaty begun.

B O O K
VI.
Of the Earl of
Southampton.

The Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all respects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cause. He was of a nature much inclined to Melancholy, and being born a Younger Brother, and his Father, and his Elder Brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a Boy, he was at first much troubled to be called *my Lord*; and with the noise of Attendance; so much he Then delighted to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any conversation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believed, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of those Designs. He had great dislike of the High Courses, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford* to exceed the limits of Justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a Man of great sharpness of Judgment, a very quick Apprehension, and that readiness of Expression upon any sudden Debate, that no Man delivered himself more advantageously, and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no Man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependance upon the Court, or purpose to

have any ; but wholly pursued the public Interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a Counsellor , and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bed-Chamber ; and received both Honors the rather , because , after he had refused to take a Protestation , which both Houses had ordered to be taken by all their Members , They had likewise Voted , “ that no Man should be capable of “ any Preferment in Church or State , who refused “ to take the same ; ” and he would show how much he contemned those Votes. He went with the King to *York* ; was most solicitous , as hath been said , for the offer of Peace at *Nottingham* ; and was with him at *Edge-hill* ; and came and stayed with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War , taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards Peace ; and , as no Man was more punctual in performing his own duty , so no Man had more Melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the War ; which is all shall be said of him in this place , there being frequent occasions to mention him , in the continuance of this discourse.

The Earl of *Leicester* was a Man of great parts , very conversant in Books , and much addicted to the Mathematics ; and though he had been a Soldier , and Commanded a Regiment , in the Service of the States of the United - Provinces , and was afterwards employed in several Embassies , as in *Denmark* , and in *France* , was in truth rather a Speculative , than a Practical Man ; and expected a greater Certitude in the consultation of business , than the business of this world is capable of : which

Of the Earl of
Leicester.

B O O K temper proved very inconvenient to him through
VI. the course of his Life. He was, after the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of King and Queen, called from his Embassy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, in a very short time after, unhappily lost that kindness and esteem: And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to Embark at *Chester*, for the execution of his Charge, he was required to attend his Majesty, for farther Instructions, at *Oxford*; where he remained; and though he was of the Council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserved not: For he was a Man of Honor, and Fidelity to the King, and his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering, and irresolution in his Nature.

Of the Earl of
Bristol.

The Earl of *Bristol* was a Man of a grave aspect, of a presence that drew respect, and of long experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favor of King *James* to his Person (for he was a very handsome Man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improved by good Education at home and abroad, sent Ambassador into *Spain*, before he was thirty years of Age; and afterwards in several other Embassies; and at last, again into *Spain*; where he Treated, and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards dissolved. He was by King *James* made of the Privy-Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the House-

hold, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to the Prince, and was then crushed by the power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the prejudice the Prince himself had contracted against him, during his Highness's being in *Spain*; upon which he was imprisoned upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retained so strict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendships and Displeasures, that the Earl of *Bristol* could never recover any admission to Court; but lived in the Country, in ease, and plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appeared in the head of all the discontented Party; but quickly left them, when they entered upon their unwarrantable Violences, and grew so much into their disfavor, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon some expressions he used in the House of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the Tower; from whence being released, in two or three days, he made haste to *York* to the King; who had before restored him to his place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edge-hill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*; where he died; that Party having so great an Animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in *England*, nor to compound for his Estate, as they suffered others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a Man of great parts, and a Wise Man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in business; which

B O O K
VI.

he managed with good sufficiency; and had lived little in consort, so that in Council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much passion, and was too voluminous in discourse; so that he was not considered there with much respect; to the lessening whereof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*; who shortly after came to sit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his Father's Wisdom, which his great experience deserved, though he failed not in his Piety towards him.

Of the Earl of
New-Castle.

The Earl of *New-Castle* was a Person well bred, and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been chosen by the King to be Governor to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and resigned that Office of Governor to the Marquis of *Hertford*, for the reasons which have been mentioned. He was not at *Oxford*, but remained at *New-Castle*, with the King's Commission to be General of those Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and signal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occasion hereafter to enlarge.

Of the Earl of
Berkshire and
others.

The Earl of *Berkshire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about, or before the setting up of the Standard, taken Prisoner in *Oxfordshire*, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had some purpose to have executed the Commission of Array in that County; but they afterwards set him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title, and pretences of a Man, who had been imprisoned for the King, and thereby

merited more, than his Majesty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Interest little. B O O K
VI.

The Lord *Dunsmore* had been made a Privy-Counsellor, after so many, who had deserved worse, had been called thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough, and tempestuous Nature, violent in pursuing what he wished, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of power with froward and discontented Men; at least he had credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a beautiful, and a worthy Lady.

The Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Interest, and Reputation; he had been always very popular in the Country; where he had lived out of the grace of the Court; and his parts, and judgment, were best in those things which concerned the good husbandry, and the Common Administration of Justice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament, he served as Knight of the Shire for *Wiltshire*, where he resided; and behaving himself with less violence in the House of Commons, than many of his old Friends did, and having a great friendship for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His interposition, called to the House of Peers; where he carried himself very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to *York*, he left the Parliament, and followed his Majesty, and remained firm in his fidelity.

BOOK

VI.

The Lord *Savil* was likewise of the Council, being first Controller, and then Treasurer of the Household, in recompence of his discovery of all the Treasons, and Conspiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be punished. He was a Man of an Ambitious and Restless Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but, in his disposition, and inclination, so False, that he could never be believed, or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had sucked in with his Milk (there having always been an immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had shrewdly overborne his Father) had engaged him with all Persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do Him mischief. And so, having opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*, and made the first unhappy Pacification, to enter into conversation, and acquaintance, with those who were then employed as Commissioners from the *Scots*, there was a secret Intelligence entered into between them from that time; and he was a principal Instrument to engage that Nation, to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a Letter, signed with the Names of several of the *English* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great promises of Assistance; which Names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the Parliament not so great as other Men's, he insinuated himself into credit with some body, who brought him to the
King

King or Queen, to whom he confessed all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and Who had conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand Protestations “to repair all by future Loyalty, and Service;” for which he was promised a White Staff, which the King had then resolved to take from Sir *Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretary’s Office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery was of no other use, than that the King knew many had been False, whom he could not punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord’s Fortune, and Interest lay, his Reputation was so low, that the Gentlemen of Interest, who wished well to the King’s Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King’s remove from thence, the Earl of *New-Castle* found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to *Oxford*; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his Office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to Prison, and never after admitted him to his presence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

Of the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, there hath been so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never failed in his

B O O K VI. Fidelity, will be very often mentioned throughout the ensuing discourse.

Secretary *Nicholas* was a very honest, and industrious Man, and always versed in business; which few of the other were, or had been. After some time spent in the University of *Oxford*, and then in the Middle Temple, he lived some years in *France*; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord *Zouch*, who was a Privy-Counsellor, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports; and thereby he understood all that Jurisdiction, which is very great, and exclusive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, surrendered that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferred upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Secretary was likewise preferred with the Office; and so, in a short time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque-Ports; and was entirely trusted, and esteemed by that great Favorite. After his death, he continued in the same place, whilst the Office was in Commission, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King called him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary *Windebank* fled the Kingdom; upon his Majesty's own observation of his Virtue, and Fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Person of very good Reputation, and of singular Integrity.

There remain only two of the Council then at *Oxford*, who are not yet named, Sir *John Banks*, who had been Attorney General, and was then Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, a Grave, and a Learned

Man in the Profession of the Law; and Sir *Peter Wych*, who had been Ambassador at *Constantinople*; from whence he returned very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sir *Thomas Jermyn* very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and so was made a Privy Counsellor, and Controller of the Household. He was a very honest, plain Man; and died very shortly after the Treaty, and was succeeded by Sir *Christopher Hatton*, a Person of great Reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminish.

Of those who were of the King's Council, and who stayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* may well be reckoned the Chief, in respect of the Antiquity and Splendor of his Family, his great Fortune, and Estate, and the general Reputation he had among the greatest Men, and his great Interest, by being High-Admiral of *England*. Though he was of a Family, that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Prisoner in the Tower, under some suspicion of having some knowledge of the Gun-Powder-Treason; and after he was set at Liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of *Carlisle*, who had, without, and against his consent, Married his Daughter, he continued, to his death, under such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his Northern Estate: Yet this Lord's Father was no sooner dead, than the King poured out his Favors upon him, in a wonderful measure: he begun with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and shortly after

Of those of the Privy-Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament. Of the Earl of Northumberland.

B O O K made him of his Privy-Council; when a great Fleet
VI. of Ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes should discern, that he intended to maintain, and preserve his Sovereignty at Sea, he sent the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea, since the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might breed him for that Service, before he gave him a more absolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exercised himself a year or two, the King made him Lord-High-Admiral of *England*; which was such a quick succession of Bounties and Favors, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favorite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great Man, and that which looked like Formality, was a Punctuality in preserving his dignity, from the invasion and intrusion of bold Men, which no Man of that Age so well preserved himself from. Though his Notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the Reputation of an Able, and a Wise Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more absolutely obeyed; and no Man had ever fewer idle words to Answer for; and in debates of importance, he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himself above other considerable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to

the impressions, which they who approached him by those Addresses of Reverence, and Esteem, that usually insinuate into such Natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevailed upon, not to do that which in honor and gratitude he was obliged to (which is a very pestilent corruption) he was, with the more Facility, let to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurred in all the Counsels which produced the Rebellion, and stayed with them to support it; which is as much, as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been enough mentioned in a better conjuncture of time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little discerned. Yet, by what was then said, his Nature, and his Parts might be well enough understood, and as neither the One, nor the Other were improvable, so they were liable to be corrupted by any Assaults; his understanding being easy to be imposed upon, and his Nature being made up of very strong Passions. Whilst there was Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he enjoyed his full share in Pomp and Greatness; the largeness and plentifulness of his Fortune being attended with reverence, and dependance from the People where his Estate, and Interest lay, and where indeed he was a great Man; getting an affection and esteem from Persons who had no dependance upon him, by his magnificent Living, and discoursing highly of Justice, and of the Protestant

Of the Earl of
Pembroke.

B O O K
VI.

Religion; inveighing bitterly against Popery, and telling what he used to say to the King; and speaking frankly of the oversights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been bred, from his Cradle, in the Court; and had that perfection of a Courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending Men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his Passion, and ask pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natured Man. Besides, he had an Office which, at that time entitled him to the exercise of some Rudeness, and the good Order of the Court had some dependance upon his Incivilities.

There were very few great Persons in Authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by sharp and scandalous discourses, and invectives against them, behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a Coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those Debts; whilst the King retained only some kindness for him, without any great esteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he saw, and heard a People stout enough to inveigh against the King's Authority, and to fall upon those Persons, whom he had always more feared than loved; and found that there were two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire Command of either of them; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Council in all which he had concurred, were called in question, and like to be made penal to those, who would not

redeem their past Errors by future Service; his Fear, which was the Passion always predominant in him, above all his Choler and Rage, prevailed so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of the Lord *Say*, to dispose of him as He thought fit, till the King took the White Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Essex*, as hath been related at large before.

From this time, he took himself to be absolved from all obligations, and dependance upon the Court, which he had lived too long in, to be willing to quit; and therefore the more closely adhered to Them by whose power he thought he might get thither again; and, for some time, entertained the hope of obtaining the other Superior White-Staff; which remained then in the King's hand, by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the parts beyond the Seas. But when he saw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Household, he gave over those weak imaginations, and concurred roundly in all the Lord *Say* proposed; and was so weak still, as to believe They never meant to Rebel against the King; or that the King could long subsist, without putting himself into Their hands. When They had any thing to do in the West, as the exercise of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they sent him into the Country, and showed him to the People, under the Conduct of two or three Members of the House, in whom they could Confide; and he talked "of the King's evil Counsellors, who carried him from his Parliament; and "of the Malignants;" and against Scandalous Minis-

B O O K ters ; whilst none of his old Friends came near him.
VI. And when they were resolved no longer to trust the

Isle of *Wight* in the hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governor there, and had an absolute power over the Affection of that People, They preferred the poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a Testimony of their Favor, and so got into actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known.

Of the Earl of
Essex.

The Earl of *Essex* hath been enough mentioned before; his Nature, and his Understanding have been described; his former disobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being displaced from the Office, he held in it, have been set forth; and there will be occasion, hereafter, to renew the discourse of him; and therefore it shall suffice in this place, to say, that a weak Judgment, and some Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable, and as violent Attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: and, without doubt, no Man in his Nature more abhorred Rebellion than He did, nor could He have been led into it by any open, or transparent Temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cozenages. His Pride supplied his want of Ambition, and he was angry to see any other Man more respected than himself, because he thought He deserved it more, and did better

requite it. For he was, in his Friendships, just, and constant; and would not have practised foully against those he took to be Enemies. No Man had credit enough with him, to corrupt him in point of Loyalty to the King, whilst he thought himself Wise enough to know, what Treason was. But the new Doctrine, and distinction of Allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his Understanding, and made him quit his own, to follow theirs, who, he thought, wished as well, and judged better than himself. His Vanity disposed him to be his Excellency, and his Weakness, to believe that he should be the General in the Houses, as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their Counsels, and restrain their Passions, as well as to Fight their Battles; and that, by this means, he should become the Preserver, and not the Destroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill grounded Confidence, he Launched out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and from whence, he could never discover any safe Port to Harbour in.

The Earl of *Salisbury* had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a descent from a Father, and a Grand-father, who had been very Wise Men, and great Ministers of State in the Eyes of *Christendom*; whose Wisdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*; from which time he continued so obsequious to the Court, that he never failed in overacting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever

Of the Earl of
Salisbury.

B O O K
VI.

proposed, which He did not advance, and execute His part with the utmost Rigor. No Man so great a Tyrant in his Country, or was less swayed by any motives of Justice or Honor. He was a Man of no words, except in Hunting, and Hawking. In matters of State, and Council, He always concurred in what was proposed for the King, and cancelled and repaired all those Transgressions, by concurring in all that was proposed against Him, as soon as any such Propositions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewise attended upon his Majesty; and, at that distance, seemed to have recovered some Courage, and concurred in all Counsels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world. But, on a sudden, he caused his Horses to attend him out of the Town, and having placed fresh ones at a distance, he fled back to *London*, with the expedition such Men use, when they are most affraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a Member of the House of Commons; and sat with them, as of their own Body; and was esteemed accordingly.

Of the Earl of
Warwick.

The Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well served; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that Honor, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to Trust; so His business was to join with those to whom he owed his Promotion. He was a Man of

a pleasant, and Companiable Wit, and Conversation; of an universal Jollity; and such a licence in his Words, and in his Actions, that a Man of less Virtue could not be found out: so that one might reasonably have believed, that a Man so qualified, would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a Nation, and Kingdom. But with all these faults, he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his House the Rendezvous of all the Silenced Ministers, in the time when there was Authority to Silence them, and spending a good part of his Estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their Devotions, and making himself merry With them, and At them, which they dispensed with, He became the head of That Party; and got the Style of a Godly Man. When the King revoked the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission of Admiral, He presently accepted the Office from the Parliament; and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the Protector; Married his Heir to his Daughter; and lived in so entire a Confidence, and Friendship with him, that when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Estate, which before was Subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired, than any Man who Trafficked in that desperate Commodity of Rebellion.

The Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the shadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counsellor before, and contributed too much to the Coun- Of the Earl of Holland.

B O O K VI. fells which had most prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he chose to stay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before, and more must be said hereafter. And therefore it shall suffice Now, to say, that there was a very froward Fate attended all, or most of the Posterity of that Bed, from whence He and his Brother of *Warwick* had their original; though He, and some others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments.

Of the Earl of
Manchester.

The Earl of *Manchester*, of the whole Cabal, was, in a thousand respects, most unfit for the Company he kept. He was of a gentle, and a generous Nature; civilly bred; had Reverence and Affection for the Person of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*; loved his Country with too unskilful a tendernefs; and was of so excellent a Temper, and Disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface those Marks: infomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but performed always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Persons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

He was at last dismissed, and removed from any Trust, for no other reason, but because he was not Wicked enough. He Married first into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by His Favor, and Interest, was called to the House of Peers in

the life of his Father; and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the service of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his Lady, and the Murder of that great Favorite, his second Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the very narrow, and restrained maintenance, which he received from his Father, and which would in no degree defray the expenses of the Court, forced him too soon to retire to a Country-Life; and totally to abandon both the Court, and *London*; whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the conversation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of those Guards which a good Education should have supplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Ecclesiastical, as well as the Civil Government, made a great impression upon his Understanding (for his Nature was never corrupted, but remained still in it's Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt, and even to destroy the Country; and from particular Instances to make general, and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always Enemies to the Church prevailed with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reformed; and

B O O K
VI.

that all means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true Logic is, that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful which are proposed to bring it to pass. No Man was courted with more application, by Persons of all conditions, and qualities; and his Person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted Principles, than to those of depraved inclinations. And in the end, even his Piety administered some excuse to him; for his Father's infirmities, and transgressions, had so far exposed him to the inquisition of Justice, that the Son found it necessary to procure the Assistance, and Protection of those who were strong enough to violate Justice itself; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his Father's Honor, and thereby to secure his own Fortune; and concurred with them in their most violent designs, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskillfully took an occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of High-Treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his Intentions, at least, as innocent as any of the leading Men.

It is some Evidence, that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserved Him to the end of the confusion; when he appeared as glad of the King's Restoration, and had heartily wished it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the Rebellion, gave so manifest tokens of Repentance as He did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealousy, and hatred of *Cromwell*, as one who abominated

the Murder of the King, and all the Barbarous proceedings against the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return received him into grace and favor, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

The last of those Counsellors which were made after the faction prevailed in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord Say; a Man, who had the deepest hand in the original Contrivance of all the Calamities which beset this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the Monarchy, and less of levelling the Ranks, and Distinctions of Men. For no Man valued himself more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raise his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a proud, morose, and sullen Nature; conversed much with Books, having been bred a Scholar, and (though nobly born) a Fellow of New-College in *Oxford*; to which he claimed a right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William of Wyckham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far fetched Pedigree, through so many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguishes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College hath been seldom without one of that Lord's Family. His parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own Rank, that he had always great Credit, and Authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the Court; and He had, with his Milk, sucked in an

BOOK
VI.

implacable Malice against the Government of the Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham* proposed to himself, after his return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himself Popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolved to embrace the Friendship of the Lord *Say*; who was as solicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too Imperious, and Pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in Court, and lived narrowly in the Country; having conversation with very few, but such who had great Malignity against the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and to do their business with most security; and was in truth the Pilot, that Steered all those Vessels which were freighted with Sedition to destroy the Government.

He found always some way to make professions of duty to the King, and made several undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haste to possess himself of any Preferment he could compass, whilst his Friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the beginning of the Parliament and was as solicitous to be Treasurer after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and, if he could have satisfied his Rancor in any degree against the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Prerogative

rogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther Fury; but he then found he had only Authority, and Credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much Contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

The last of the Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament, was Sir *Henry Vane*; who had so much excuse for it, that being thrown out of Court, he had no whither else to go; and promised himself to be much made of by Them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art; for he was Illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the vicissitudes of Court, and had undergone some severe Mortification, by the disfavor of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no sooner dead (which made it believed that he had made his Peace in his life-time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any Man who was eminently in the Duke's disfavor) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counsellor, and Controller of the Household; which place he became well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment he had liked the Government

B O O K
VI.

Of Sir Henry
Vane the
elder.

B O O K both of Church, and State; and only desired to
 VI. raise his Fortune, which was not great, and which
 he found many ways to improve. And he was wont
 to say, "that he never had desired other preferment;
 " and believed, that Marquis *Hamilton* (with whom
 " he had never kept fair quarter) when he first pro-
 " posed to him to be Secretary of State, did it to
 " affront him; well knowing his want of Ability for
 " the discharge of that Office." But, without doubt,
 as the fatal preferring him to that place was of un-
 speakable prejudice to the King, so his receiving it
 was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl
 of *Strafford* (who had unwisely provoked him, wan-
 tonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all
 imaginable thoughts of Revenge; which is a Guest,
 that naturally disquiets, and tortures those who en-
 tertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for
 others; and That disposed him to sacrifice his Honor
 and Faith, and his Master's Interest, that he might
 ruin the Earl, and was buried Himself in the same
 ruin; for which being justly chastised by the King,
 and turned out of his Service, he was left to his
 own despair; and, though he concurred in all the ma-
 licious designs against the King, and against the
 Church, he grew into the hatred, and contempt,
 of those who had made most use of him; and died in
 universal reproach, and not contemned more by
 any of his Enemies, than by his own Son; who
 had been his principal Conductor to Destruction.

We now pass to the Transactions in the Treaty
 itself, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



Clarendon, Edward Hyde of, 1609-1674

The History Of The Rebellion and Civil Wars In England, Begun in the Year 1641 With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributes thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return upon the 29th of May, in the year 1660
Bd.: 5

Basil (1798)

Bibl.Mont. 3393-5

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10722781-6

VD18 80120474-001